Daily Report

East Europe

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People's Front Movements Hold Annual Meeting

LD1601220389 Budapest MTI in English 1649 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 16 (MTI)—The annual coordinating meeting of the People's Front Movements of the socialist countries started in Budapest on Monday. Organized by the National Council of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front (PPF), the five-day consultation is attended by representatives of the Bulgarian Fatherland Front, the Czechoslovak National Front, the Cuban Revolutionary Defence Committees, the Polish Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, the National Front of the GDR, the Romanian Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, and the Federation of Soviet Friendship Societies.

First Istvan Huszar, member of the HSWP CC and general secretary of the PPF National Council, gave briefs on topical home policy issues of the Hungarian People's Republic and on the activity of the People's Front.

East Bloc TU Conference Convenes in Budapest

LD2001230989 Budapest MTI in English 2034 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 20 (MTI)—Leaders of the Trade Union centres of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, the GDR, Romania, the Soviet Union and Hungary opened a roundtable conference in Budapest on Friday. Participants are pooling views on the role of trade unions in the economic and political transformation currently underway in the European socialist countries. Revision of the possibilities of a European cooperation among trade unions with particular regard to economic integration is also on the agenda.

Polish Delegates' Activities

LD2201223889 Warsaw PAP in English 2021 GMT 22 Jan 89

[By PAP correspondent Tadeusz Belerski]

[Text] Budapest, Jan. 22—Leaders of trade union federations in European socialist countries met here January 20-22 to exchange views on union activities under the conditions of economic, social, and political reforms carried out in those countries.

The recent political decisions in Poland, concerning political and union pluralism, have drawn high interest. OPZZ leader Alfred Miodowicz informed the meeting about the work and problems of the Polish labour movement. He also talked with heads of the unions in Hungary, the Soviet Union, the GDR, Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia.

OPZZ Vice-Chairman Jerzy Uzieblo spoke about questions of the unions' international activities, especially in Europe. Referring to the CMEA matters, he drew attention to the need for higher efficiency and coordination in its social and economic policy.

Following a motion of the OPZZ delegation, the meeting said that the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War 2 should be a special occasion for trade unions to exert pressure towards further disarmament steps, confidence building, and international security and, by this, to create a better prospect for work and nations.

GDR's Tisch Briefs Newsmen

LD2201201089 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1658 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Budapest, (ADN)—By ADN correspondent Bernd Runge: In the shaping of a socialist society the trade unions are called upon to be aware of their responsibility as representatives of the workers' diverse interests and in accordance with national conditions. This was the tenor of a working meeting of trade union chairmen from the European socialist countries which ended in Budapest today. [passage omitted]

The FDGB delegation was led by Harry Tisch, member of the SED Politburo and chairman of the National Executive Council of the FDGB. [passage omitted]

In a press discussion Harry Tisch explained the work of the FDGB, saying that trade unionists contributed to raising productivity in the GDR by 7 percent in 1988 and to the fact that double-figure increases were achieved in key technologies such as microelectronics. The FDGB chairman said: "Full employment, social security, low rents, and stable prices for basic requirement goods, public utility charges, and fares—all these were part of the successful balance of our republic in 1988." The trade unions set great store in the human being remaining always central to events. Economic and social objectives are treated equally at the conception of new kinds of technical and technological solutions.

Referring to cooperation with trade unions in socialist countries, he said that trade union work also has to correspond to national conditions. Each trade union is responsible first of all to its own members.

Especially in the present situation, the FDGB considers the closest of contacts and an unbiased exchange of experiences, as was the case in the last few days in the Hungarian capital, as particularly important and necessary.

Harry Tisch continued: "As an active member of the World Federation of Trade Unions, we are concerned at holding lively dialogue with all trade union organizations." At a time when a change from confrontaiton to cooperation is taking place worldwide, there are many opportunities for cooperation. The international trade union movement, in acting jointly and in particular by supporting peace and disarmament, can make a contribution to ensuring that there is no pause in the disarmament process.

Harry Tisch said that the FDGB believes that the 100th anniversary of 1 May as an international workers' day of struggle is a good opportunity to demonstrate unanimity on this fundamental matter of representing trade union interests at the 77th meeting of the International Labor Conference in Geneva. [passage omitted]

CSSR's Obzina Attends CEMA Executive Meeting
LD2201164189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Jaromir Obzina, Czechoslovak deputy premier and permanent representative to CEMA, arrived by air today in Moscow to attend the 130th session of the CEMA Executive Committee. He was received at Moscow airport by CEMA Secretary Vyacheslav Sychev.

CSSR Deputy Premier in Cuba for CEMA Session
AU1801151989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 16 Jan 89 p 7

[Unattributed report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] A Czechoslovak delegation arrived in Havana by air on Saturday [14 January], for the 43d session of the CEMA Committee for Planning Cooperation. The delegation is led by Bohumil Urban, first deputy federal premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission.

Further Reportage on Vienna CSCE Meeting

PAP Interviews Shevardnadze

LD1901232189 Warsaw PAP in English
2137 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna, Jan. 19—The USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, answering here questions put by PAP Vienna correspondent and Judy Dempsey of the FINANCIAL TIMES said, among others, that the USSR and her allies will publish the data on (their) armed forces before the start of the Vienna negotiations of the 23 states. This will be a significant event, but still, it will not solve the whole problem (of the success of negotiations) by itself.

The minister, asked whether the USSR had already secured France's support for the idea of a summit meeting of the leaders of 35 (CSCE) countries, said that President Mitterrand voiced support for such meeting at the session of the U.N. General Assembly proposing that the summit be called 2 years after the start of the negotiations of the 23. Other states favourably received this initiative of the USSR and France, Soviet minister added.

Shevardnadze said also that if the new U.S. secretary of state comes here to attend the opening of the negotiations of the 23 Warsaw Treaty and NATO states and the conference of 35 CSCE states devoted to confidence and security building measures, "then we will meet here."

"I am certain that progress (in the negotiations on conventional armaments in Europe) will be secured, because people want this. So, if the governments are true governments directed by the will of their nations, then, they should act according to this will," Shevardnaze said, answering the last question.

Polish Delegate Addresses Session

LD1801215789 Warsaw PAP in English
1636 GMT 18 Jan 89

["Olechowski's Address in Vienna (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Vienna, Jan. 18—Delivering an address at the end of the Vienna CSCE meeting, Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski said, i.a.:

Settlements reached in Vienna are an expression of the dynamism of the CSCE process. Some solutions are innovatory, unprecedented in the post-war history of Europe. Their scrupluous implementation will require from all of us political good will and that one should view oneself in a competent and self-critical way.

Poland will enter into negotiations, willing to contribute to possibly urgent reaching of first meaningful agreements. Our country has made concrete proposals in this field. They are included in the plan of decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in central Europe, forwarded by Wojciech Jaruzelski. Its suggestions and concrete postulates may help find optimal, compromise solutions on the reciprocal basis, in common striving to remove military threats from our continent.

Poland attaches great importance to initiating a dialogue on military doctrines, their political and military-technical aspects in order to give doctrines, strategies and concepts a strictly defensive character. We are of the opinion that this would contribute to removing distrust in reception of intentions, create additional impulses for disarmament negotiations. The Jaruzelski plan was the manifestation of this. We declare readiness to participate in initiatives.

We understand the need of mutual interest in the state of human rights' realization and even the need of justified criticism, though we warn against abuse of criticism. A truly revolutionary process of real subjectivization of society has been developing in this domain in Poland. It is in the unity of political and economic reforms that we search for the revival of the power of our republic.

New challenges grow like an avalanche in the spheres of economy, ecology, technology.

For instance, it makes a difference to Poland whether West European integration will set the course for openness to the world or for egoistic closing. We expect the former to get consolidated for the good of all the 35 participants in our Helsinki process. In Poland we undertake numerous activities already now, by means of our policy of openness, in order to consolidate such a trend in Europe. Only together we can effectively cope with acute problems and threats such as the deepening of technological gap, debts, removal of ecological threat and the like.

I would like to assure you that Poland will be scrupulously performing obligations it has assumed. We will review the existing legal regulations from the point of view of their concordance with new recommendations. If necessary, proper corrections will be made. We will expect similar activities on the part of other states.

The meeting has decided that Krakow will have the honour to host a symposium on protection of common cultural heritage. I want to assure you that we will spare no efforts to create possible best conditions for staging it, following the hitherto practice of the CSCE meetings.

Europe remains in the centre of political philosophy and practical activities of Poland's foreign policy.

A beacon for our efforts is the idea of a "common European house." We regard the CSCE process as the foundations of this house. All European states as well as the U.S. and Canada should take part in its construction.

We share the opinion that one should not create new structures when the existing ones are not fully made use of. Therefore, in our view the giving of a fully European character to the existing institutions such as the European Council would well serve common cause.

GDR Foreign Minister's Speech

LD1901203589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1556 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer made the following statement on Thursday at the concluding sitting of the third follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in the Vienna Austria Center.

The year 1989 is beginning full of promise. Developments are continuing which allow people to look to the future with more hope. A few days ago in Paris, a new start was made at global level to alleviate the burden of another dangerous category of weapons of mass destruction from mankind.

With this meeting here in Vienna, the final document of the third follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe was adopted, which should create a further framework for more trust and cooperation among all participant states.

Reason, a sense of proportion and cooperation have always found the approval of the German Democratic Republic, because they strengthen what exists and open new paths. The socialist German state sees itself confirmed in its work for peace and security; it was, is, and remains a reliable partner for everybody. More predictability and trust in relations and less mistrust and tension are vital for the existence of all states, and all the more so for the state on the dividing line between two social orders and their alliance systems. Of course, that presupposes that the political, socioeconomic, and territorial realities on our continent, which have made the CSCE process necessary and whose recognition had made it possible, are unconditionally respected by all in the future as well.

I believe that this wish of my country will be shared by those who find themselves in a similarly exposed location and that it finds understanding—and I hope support, as well—from all others.

The final document now before us is the result of very prolonged negotiations. It reflects that Europe has a new face in the 50th year after the outbreak of the World War II. Possiblilites were discussed and found to continue on the path adopted and to gain areas of cooperation that had been previously barred. That applies to all areas of the Helsinki Final Act.

This, the third CSCE follow-up meeting, demonstrated that the calmer the climate and atmosphere, the more fruitful and healthy become cooperation and coexistence.

At the same time, the path to this document has allowed us to experience that acceptable and useful results for all can only be achieved if negotiations are conducted on an equal basis without any attempt to acquire one-sided advantages.

This meeting has confirmed that security is and remains the basis of any cooperation. Disarmament creates security and thereby serves the most important human right, the right to live in peace.

The ideal of socialism remains a world without weapons. The road to this is rocky and, unfortunately as practice proves, it cannot be traveled in one step. But the states have had good experiences with partial steps and agreements in individual areas.

Let us continue this with the agreed upon negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe and with the continuation of the "Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building Measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe." The security of the peoples of the continent, like the possibilities and fields for their cooperation, can increase to the same extent as the success in creating more solid foundations; therefore by means of realistic disarmament and more trust. Only in this way will resources necessary for the solution of other complicated problems be freed. Disarmament, achieved painstakingly in one field, should not be allowed to be annihilated by means of quantitatively and qualitatively new armament, neither should the concept of deterrence be allowed to be extended indefinitely.

'Deterrence', in whatever form it might take—as both history and the present attest—has never prevented wars; it has always led to more insecurity and more victims, and moreover to greater expense. 'Deterrence' aims at military strength and superiority; the time for this should now be past. Decisions to start up production of binary weapons—as if the Paris conference on banning chemical weapons had never taken place—must therefore give rise to some questions.

The nub of military confidence-building is the elimination of the capability for surprise attack. The GDR is at all times and places ready to collaborate toward this end. The good practical experiences with the Stockholm document provide encouragement for this. The exposure of military activities and data, including reciprocal inspections, have without doubt improved the political atmosphere. Future agreements must now lead toward limiting the scope and number of military activities and the extension of confidence- and security-building measures to air and sea forces which, as is known, can by their very nature be the most dangerous vehicles of surprise attacks.

The Warsaw Pact states have put forward proposals for this and have proposed subject matter we think suitable for negotiation. Moreover, following the step announced by the USSR, considerable unilateral reductions of troops and armaments will ensue on the territory of four allied states, including the GDR. The timetable for the withdrawal will soon be finalized. This is a significant decision in the interests of joint security.

Action in this direction brings us jointly forward, but this expression of new thinking and action cannot remain unilateral, the other side must follow the example and should not delay in doing so.

The CSCE process has proven to be capable of living on, because its participants allow themselves to be guided by the sovereignty of all states and the inviolability of their borders, and they accept the principle of noninterference in one another's internal affairs. Much of what has been said here—such as attacks that have taken place here on the GDR state border—make it necessary to remember that. Only the pursuit of these very principles brought and is bringing about benefits for everyone. How else could trust flourish? Also pointing the way are the other principles of the final acts in their unity and interdependence.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, in 1975 described these principles as a "codex for the concrete application of the principles of peaceful coexistence." The 14 years of the Helsinki process confirm this.

However similar or dissimilar our concepts of Europe's future and the road to it may be, the fact remains that this Europe is being established by states belonging to different social systems and subscribing to different values. To accept this with no ifs, ands, or buts is an indispensable and reliable part of the jointly determined path and the jointly proven actions.

We value what has been achieved in the economic and environmental spheres. Finally there is also cooperation here. Great attention is rightly being paid to ecological security and the preservation of the environment. We see further scope for mutually intensive, advantageous cooperation in science and technology and in research. Exploitation of the environment in the general interest is too important to sacrifice it to regional considerations, private interests, or even military strategies.

The GDR, ladies and gentlemen, welcomes the fact that in the final document the governments of the participating states commit themselves to work for the implementation of human rights in their totality of political, civil, social, economic, and cultural aspects.

This meets the expectations of the people in all participating states. The conferences in Paris, Copenhagen, and Moscow are being thoroughly prepared for by the GDR. As far as the socialist German state is concerned, we are proud of what has been achieved in our country.

The exploitation of man by man has been abolished. Our society guarantees everyone work as the fundamental right of human existence. Equality of the sexes, equal pay for equal work, encouragement of youth, young families and large families, collaboration in society, and much more are anchored in law and are materially guaranteed, normal, and axiomatic reality.

No one could come to terms with people in our country having to sleep and live under bridges because they had no home; with the prosperity of the individual determined whether and how he could ensure his health care; with whether an individual could acquire education; or with whether in old age an individual could live without worry and in dignity. In our country it is no longer the case that the poor must die earlier. We have neither beggars nor "new poverty." We have implemented human rights.

It, therefore, fills states and peoples, including the GDR, with deep sorrow and concern when, despite all the CSCE accords from Helsinki to Vienna, human rights are most grossly violated in a number of countries.

I am thinking of the grave excesses of over 1,000 policemen against the inhabitants of Overtown, an Afro-American ghetto in Miami, which resulted in two dead and a large number of injured citizens as well as 250 arrests. This occurred at a time when the participants of this meeting were being lectured from this rostrum on human rights.

And virtually outside the GDR'S front door, brutal police action against striking students resulted in 200 of them being injured and 55 arrested. Unfortunately, these and many other grave violations of human rights are part of everyday life in many Western countries. One can only hope that these states will at last fulfill the commitments on observing human rights entered into in the international accords.

The dynamism that has gripped our old continent of Europe does not allow us to lose sight of the world. That applies to the neighboring regions—the Mediterranean area, the Near East—and other continents. It is precisely because the lessons from the past, which was full of suffering, were drawn in Europe that our continent is able to make a great contribution to the solution of global problems or regional conflicts. This is all the more the case when tasks, which are rightly called historic, can be solved through peaceful cooperation.

With the INF agreement, the improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations, the commencement of official relations between the CMEA and the EEC, with the lively East-West dialogue and not least through the CSCE process, possibilities are opening up to give detente a new content on the threshold of the last decade in this century and to give clear contours to the "common European home."

Its security and stability are the security and stability of all its states and their borders. Its prosperity and future are the prosperity and future of all its states.

The "common European home" should be a hospitable house, open to all who come with good intentions. It can, it must be a link between the continents. The common home should be stably constructed on firm ground, because all tenants, that is peoples, should live in it sovereign and free, without fear of intervention, threat, or even oppression. Each people chooses its fundamental values and respects those of others.

European public opinion sets great hopes and expectations in the shaping of the CSCE process. Therefore we should:

First. Imbue the Vienna agreement with a high degree of predictability on the basis of the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, and thereby respect the partners' legitimate interests and demonstrate the will to understand and a readiness to compromise.

Second. Conduct the negotiations on conventional disarmament and on confidence- and security-building measures dynamically and effectively, so that initial results are achieved by the next follow-up meeting in Helsinki. Conventional disarmament must not exclude further steps in the nuclear or chemical area. On the contrary, no type of weapons may be left out, and every control must be made possible.

Third. Cooperation, not confrontation must be made the yardstick of all action. Therefore, we should at the same time strengthen the United Nations in its worldwide campaign for peace.

The GDR thanks the Government of Austria and its capital Vienna for the warm hospitality and the excellent working conditions. The Austrian republic's constructive work in the CSCE process, which is esteemed by all, will certainly by reflected again in the host role for the forthcoming negotiations on conventional disarmament.

I sincerely thank the executive secretary, Ambassador Liedermann, and his staff for their work and their trouble.

We look to the next follow-up meeting in Helsinki, the birthplace of the historic Final Act, with great expectations. I thank you for your attention.

Fischer Cited on Results

AU2001162889 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 19 Jan 89 p 4

[Statement made by Oskar Fischer, GDR foreign minister, to ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME correspondent Vanya Encheva in Vienna on 18 January]

[Text] The success of the Vienna meeting lies in that agreement has been reached on starting talks on disarmament in the conventional field. We believe that agreement is evident that factual, specific talks should be started without delay. If we succeed in this, it will mean we have created real possibilities for achieving greater peace, greater security, and better conditions for developing international cooperation. In my view, this is the most important thing. Naturally, we must also try to achieve progress in economic, technoscientific, and cultural cooperation. This provides a wide field for showing the international cooperation that the GDR has striven for, and will continue to try to develop.

Bulgaria's Mladenov Speaks

AU1901192489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Jan 89 pp 1, 5

[Speech delivered by Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, at closing session of the Vienna CSCE Conference on 17 January 1989]

[Text] Mr Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, only a week ago we met in Paris to express our stand on a very crucial problem—on whether a barbaric weapon that causes a painful death and indiscriminately kills not only soldiers, but also women, helpless children, and old people, should be eliminated or not. This was a special test of our maturity, our sense of responsibility for the fate of the world.

Today we have gathered here to mark the successful conclusion of an international forum—the Vienna meeting—which has accomplished its work.

We can point out with satisfaction that common sense is increasingly prevailing over hostility today. The outdated thesis that strength is the source of right has failed. The cult of weapons is dissolving under the influence of the ideas of humanitarianism, reconciliation, and human solidarity.

Events have occurred within the last 2-3 years in this world which actually paved a new path of development of universal processes. The two most powerful states in the world decided to eliminate two entire classes of modern weapons. They tangibly approached a 50-percent reduction of the most devastating combat means known to mankind. The world just confirmed its resolve once and for all to wipe out chemical weapons off the

face of the earth. The countries seriously debate how to reduce the arsenals of conventional weapons, which in the last century alone caused the death of over 100 million people.

There are numerous reasons for this radical change. One of the main ones is the evident impossibility of using nuclear war as a political means. Both the victors and the defeated will be involved in a common disaster if such an unfortunate event really occurs. However, to attribute everything to instincts of self-preservation would mean underestimating our own human qualities, it would mean underrating the things we are most proud of—such as our capacity for thought, our moral standards, and our sense of responsibility.

The chief lesson for European peoples taught by the last decades of "cold wars," "iron curtains," and mutual distrust, is the requirement to cut through the Gordian knot of old strategic lines and outdated concepts, such as the well-known concept of the "balance of forces." The peoples are aware of the crucial necessity for a new, universal, political concept, which should be built on a balance of interests.

More than 40 years have elapsed since World War II and this experience shows that periodical stages of good will and realism have indeed occurred. Nevertheless, the short-lived periods of detente were usually interrupted by sudden situations of crisis. The storages of mass destruction means remained untouched and even accumulated.

In order to find a way out of this vicious circle it was necessary to radically overcome the ideological stagnation that put a heavy burden on international relations. Someone had to demonstrate to the world his sincere conviction that military strength is not the only guarantor of security, not the only means of protecting a nation's material and intellectual values, that military strength is not the only argument in interstate relations.

It actually became necessary that a great—European—state had to demonstrate to the world its willingness in its international relations to renounce the "position of strength" policy and to rely on its political strength, as well as on universal, human values and interests. This is what the Soviet Union actually did.

Other states also adopted this realistic and sensible approach.

M.S. Gorbachev's speech to the 43d UN General Assembly session was a brilliant, new confirmation of the Soviet Union's resolve to implement the ideas embodied in its program for the establishment of a world free of nuclear weapons and violence. Distinguished world leaders pointed out that this is an important step in the correct direction. We only wish that their countries would follow this example and adopt real actions in this respect.

The Vienna meeting became a crucial stage in the international dialogue on questions of war and peace, on justice, and on human relations. The Vienna meeting eloquently reflected the need for preserving and further developing European civilization in the future.

On this basis precisely, the concept of the all-European home emerged. This concept embodies everything that unites our countries—the ideas of the Renaissance, of the Age of Enlightment, of free and creative thought, the struggle against despotism and oppression. This concept also gives substance to the profound integration processes in the economic sphere, processes that the logic of life itself leads toward our great common goal. Efforts to overcome the division of our continent are actually the basic essence of this concept.

What did the Vienna meeting actually show in our opinion?

First. The 35 participants in the Vienna meeting demonstrated their common striving to exclude war from people's lives on the continent, to build up their relations on the basis of the principle of assuming that it is inadmissible and impossible to wage war, either with nuclear or conventional weapons.

Second. The Vienna meeting confirmed that cooperation and security in Europe can only be built on the basis of the 10 Helsinki principles, through a mutual "opening up" of the countries to each other, through the observance of the principle that a variety of state systems exist and that each country should be granted freedom of choice as regards its own state system.

Third. The Vienna forum placed the problems and needs of common people, their social and cultural concerns at the center of major world policy. Once upon a time, chancellors, monarchs, and ministers came together in this European capital and tried to establish law and order for all of Europe. Today, our dialogue shows that only a civic society, which is one of the main achievements of our peoples in their struggle for freedom and progress, can be the basis for a peaceful and united Europe.

This is how Vienna today directs European diplomacy toward the great and noble cause of democracy, humanitarianism, and the demilitarization of international relations.

Mr Chairman, the image of the Vienna meeting is reflected in its final document. Precisely this justifies our statement that, after Helsinki, Vienna has reached the highest point in the development of the all-European process.

The greatest achievement of this document is that it is well-balanced, that it is comprehensive and specific at the same time. It proposes solutions whose scope and essence are of great importance for the achievement of substantial progress in all spheres of mutual cooperation

among states, for the consolidation of peace, security, and stability on our continent, for enhancing European cooperation to a qualitatively new level.

Let us take the military aspects of security, for example. The decision to pursue the negotiations on confidence measures and security, and to start negotiations on conventional disarmament is one of the most substantial results of the Vienna meeting, a basic landmark in the development of East-West relations. This decision provides a real opportunity to strengthen military stability in Europe and offers numerous instruments for the solution of this problem.

Both the necessary prerequisites and useful examples exist for the success of the two types of negotiations. I mean the Stockholm Conference and the INF Treaty, as well as the Soviet initiatives submitted at the recent UN General Assembly session. These examples point to the path along which, with joint efforts, we can reach the goals mapped out in the mandate of future negotiations.

We attach particular importance to the agreements contained in the final document regarding cooperation in the environmental protection sphere. In this respect, the main factor is the conviction that the solution of ecological problems concerns all states and peoples to the same extent, a conviction that was confirmed here at the Vienna meeting. As a result of this, we have decided to hold an ecological meeting in Bulgaria.

I take advantage of this opportunity to express our gratitude, on behalf of the Bulgarian Government, for the great honor and confidence demonstrated toward our country. Along with this, I would like to express my satisfaction at our cooperation with other countries which submitted similar ideas and share the same values.

We are aware that the successful implementation of the initiatives in the ecological sphere, scheduled for autumn 1989, will greatly depend upon the host country, and I would like to assure you that we will do everything in our power to make the meeting successful.

Permit me to express our hope that, as in the past, we will be able to rely on the good will and readiness for cooperation of all participants in the forthcoming Sofia ecological meeting.

In the final document, the stands and ideas that are related to the expansion of cooperation in the economic, scientific, and technical sectors aroused particular interest.

The general political atmosphere and the present state of East-West relations on a bilateral and multilateral basis are favorable to the achievement of this goal. I would just like to point out two favorable factors at this stage of development: the establishment of official relations between the two largest economic organizations in Europe—CEMA and the EEC—and the economic changes taking place in the socialist countries, which reveal new opportunities for developing and multiplying mutually advantageous cooperation.

We feel a certain dissatisfaction that the Vienna meeting was not able to take advantage of the emerging trends and give an impetus to economic and scientific-technical cooperation. Let us hope that the envisaged economic conference will help us to mark progress in this respect.

In our opinion, the final document also does justice to the regional cooperation in Europe whose role is steadily increasing. The northern region has already obtained considerable successes and has even acquired traditions in this respect. The first meeting of ministers of foreign affairs from Balkan countries since World War II also took place, and met with a considerable regional and international response. This meeting was a harbinger of something new in political practice. If this trend were to develop further, this would certainly represent a valuable contribution to the European dialogue. Various political initiatives in other areas of Europe are well-known. Regional detente should not only be a reflection and a result, but also a stimulating factor of all-European detente.

In this context, I would like to point out the particular importance of the link between security in Europe and security in the Mediterranean, which was once more confirmed in Vienna. This makes the commitments assumed in this area no less important than the other agreements contained in the final document.

The section on cooperation in the spheres of human rights and human relations has a ring of topicality and is very significant.

The restructuring process in the socialist countries reflects the enhanced role of the human factor. The meaning of restructuring is to promote the moral enrichment and elevation of man, and to establish conditions for his full self-assertion. All other goals of social development, of domestic and foreign policy are subjected to this purpose.

One of the fundamentally important agreements is to establish a mechanism on a human scale, within the framework of which meetings have been scheduled to take place in the following three cities: Paris, Copenhagen, and Moscow. We hope that all countries will regard this mechanism as a factor of cooperation. Only under these circumstances, will the aforementioned mechanism be able to fulfill its functions, namely, to support the observance of human rights in their entirety—in the political, economic, social, civic, and cultural spheres—and to facilitate cooperation in the humanitarian sector.

As to the statement about my country made by my Turkish colleague, I would like to say the following: In our opinion, this is not the appropriate time to engage in a discussion with Turkey as regards its stand on human

rights in other countries and in Turkey itself, although a great deal could be said on this subject. I would just like to inform the audience that a dialogue is being conducted between our two countries on the entire complex of bilateral relations. We should point out only with regret that the Turkish minister's declaration, which contains Ankara's well-known unfounded claims against Bulgaria, is actually aimed at undermining this dialogue and discrediting the all-European process as a whole. Nevertheless, the Turkish minister's statement also has its positive side. It is an unmistakable warning that someone is trying to dictate his will to the community of countries from the position of the past, and that we are only at the beginning of the path toward freeing ourselves from the obstacles of outdated cliches.

We can say without exaggeration that the successes achieved at the Vienna meeting are the results of the aspirations and efforts of all the countries that participated in this forum. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, according to its potential, also contributed to this success. As one of the initiators of the all-European process and as an active participant in it, our country energetically supported all constructive ideas and submitted its own specific proposals.

We will further continue to work with consistency and selfless devotion for the consolidation of security and to expand cooperation in all spheres that were mapped out and further developed in the Vienna meeting's final document.

Mr Chairman, we think that the Vienna meeting has been honorably concluded and has achieved good results. At this most recent forum of the 35 CSCE member countries, everything possible at the present stage has been achieved and a considerable new step forward has been accomplished for the further consolidation and development of all-European rapprochement.

The task that now faces all of us is to mark further progress. It is necessary to implement the agreement achieved by means of joint efforts and actions.

This task is not an easy one, but it is not impossible.

To accomplish this task we need political good will and statesman-like wisdom; it is necessary to work in all directions, it is necessary for all of us to contribute to leading the European process toward new horizons. The path covered to date will inspire us in conquering these horizons, and the lofty goals mapped out in Vienna will serve as our incentives.

Let us continue to live and work with hope and confidence that at the forthcoming meeting of CSCE member states, which is scheduled to take place in Helsinki in 1992, we may be able to congratulate ourselves on even more significant, new successes.

Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, recently stated: "Where there is a favorable political situation, the further development of mankind will be a process of ever-increasing cooperation and mutual enrichment."

Last but not least, let me express the profound gratitude of the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to the Government of Austria for its hospitality and contribution to the success of this meeting. I would also like to express gratitude to all participants, to the leaders and members of the delegations, to the executive secretary, and to his assistants, whose contribution we duly and highly appreciate.

Thank you for your attention.

Bulgarian Representative Interviewed

AU1901103789 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 17 Jan 89 pp 1, 3

["Telephone" interview with Ambassador Lyuben Petrov, leader of the Bulgarian delegation to the Vienna CSCE Conference, by Vasil V. Zakhariev: "New Dynamic Development in the Common All-European Home"—date not given]

[Text] Last Sunday, on 15 January, the representatives of 35 European states, the United States, and Canada, participating in the Vienna CSCE Conference, adopted a final document by consensus.

The session will be officially closed following a meeting at the foreign ministers' level to be held from 17 to 19 January 1989.

The package of proposals submitted is the result of difficult negotiations which lasted over 27 months. In order to obtain more details we put through a telephone call to the Austrian capital, where we talked to Ambassador Lyuben Petrov, head of the Bulgarian delegation at the Vienna meeting:

[Zakhariev] The final document is already a fact. Which are the most topical subjects in its contents related to the further development of the Helsinki process?

[Petrov] The final document, to which the mandate for the negotiations on conventional arms has been added, covers over 80 typed pages, and together with the other addenda it fills over 100 pages. It is an important document of great substance, and we can say without exaggeration, that it is the most important document since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act. The document reflects the present state of East-West relations. The new political thinking is reflected in this document, especially regarding certain spheres of cooperation. One of the greatest merits of the document is the fact that agreements were reached on the military aspects of security in Europe—such as the continuation of the

Stockholm conference and the beginning of new negotiations on conventional arms. It has always been the goal of the Warsaw Pact member states to proceed to such negotiations that are likely to result in military detente.

The complex of agreements on environmental protection is another achievement of great importance. Substantial progress was also achieved in the sphere of human rights and humanitarian cooperation. A new concept, namely the concept of "human dimension," was introduced to the CSCE Conference. This concept reflects our understanding about the role of the human factor in social development. A mechanism of cooperation within the framework of "human dimension" is in the process of creation whose task will be to assist efforts for the observance of human rights in their entirety—political and economic, social and civil, cultural and other rights. This mechanism will be put into operation at the conference on the "human dimension" which is scheduled to take place in three stages and in three different capitals—Paris, Copenhagen, and Moscow.

New elements have been added to the substance of the Seventh Principle—namely the observance of human rights and basic freedoms, including freedom of thought, conscience, religion, and convictions.

[Zakhariev] Can you describe some specific initiatives included in the all-European cooperation program in various sectors?

[Petrov] In addition to the two categories of negotiations on the military aspects of security and to the three-stage conference on the "human dimension," the following six forums are scheduled: An economic conference expected to take place in Bonn; a meeting on the peaceful settlement of disputes expected to be held in Malta; the environmental protection conference scheduled in Sofia; an information forum expected to take place in London; a symposium on cultural heritage scheduled to be held in Krakow; as as well as a conference on security and cooperation questions in the Mediterranean, expected to take place in Spain, while the next meeting of the Vienna Conference type will be held in Helsinki, in 1992.

I would like to point out, in comparison, that throughout the 13-years of the all-European process, only 10 forums took place, while 11 meetings are envisaged for the forthcoming 3 years. In addition to this, it is the first time that three of these forums are expected to take place in socialist countries—in the Soviet Union, Poland, and Bulgaria.

[Zakhariev] Our country will host the Ecoforum. This is certainly a tribute to Bulgaria. How is the participation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria in the all-European process being evaluated?

[Petrov] I would not say that Bulgaria was chosen as host to an ecological meeting because it is a model country in this respect. Numerous factors played a role in this respect and, last but not least, the Bulgarian initiatives to "clean" the Balkans and to sign a European treaty on environmental protection. In this connection I would like to point out our part in international agreements and initiatives for eliminating air, soil, and water pollution, and our activities along social lines which made us the initiators of the project to establish the International Ecoforum for Peace Movement, and for submitting a proposal to the Vienna meeting on holding an environmental protection conference. We were the first to submit this proposal, as a matter of fact.

Bulgaria, which is working in close cooperation with the other socialist countries at the Vienna meeting, made its own contribution to all "baskets," as well as to the mandate talks which discussed questions related to the interests of our security and the security of the Warsaw Pact member states as a whole. The restructuring process, which is currently taking place in our country, greatly contributed to our active and efficient participation in the Vienna meeting.

[Zakhariev] The 16 NATO countries and the 7 Warsaw Pact member states will proceed to negotiations on conventional arms in March 1989. What is the essence of their mandate?

[Petrov] The mandate is described in five typed pages and it took almost 2 years to work it out. This fact in itself somewhat reveals the difficulties involved. The core of the mandate consists of the goals, the objective, and the scope of the future negotiations. The goals are defined in the following manner—namely to consolidate security and stability in Europe through establishing a balance of conventional armed forces and armaments at low levels, and to eliminate the inequality both in the potential for surprise attack, as well as in starting large scale aggressive actions.

The subject and the scope of the mandate proved to be the most difficult problem. Difficulties in connection with the mandate have already been overcome, while the even greater difficulties of the negotiations themselves are still facing us.

[Zakhariev] How do you evaluate the importance of the new negotiations on further East-West cooperation in respect to universal human values and interests?

[Petrov] The results of the Vienna meeting give new impetus to the development of the all-European dialogue. They have not only contributed to the improvement of cooperation and to the consolidation of mutual confidence, but also to the further improvement of the forms of cooperation among the 35 member states. The program on the meetings expected to follow the Vienna conference will contribute to the introduction and application of more civilized forms of communication among the participating countries and to the establishment of a system of good-neighborly relations in the European home.

Opportunities have been agreed upon to expand and to increase contacts and communications among people in both parts of Europe, for a broad cooperation of young people and students, and in particular, for cooperation on a bilateral and multilateral basis in the spheres of education, culture, and tourism....

The results of the Vienna meeting should contribute to the establishment of standards of cooperation among participating states, which in their scope, should extend beyond the framework of our continent.

CSSR's Johanes Views Meeting

LD1901234989 Prague CTK in English 2002 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna Jan 19 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes said today that the final document of the Vienna meeting, a follow-up to the European security and cooperation conference, had surpassed expectations.

Speaking to CTK, he described the final document as an important milestone in the all-European process, which opens qualitatively new possibilities for the further extension of cooperation and effort to strengthen European security.

He noted that the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe will deal with radical cuts in armed forces and armament which would prevent sudden attack. This would significantly consolidate stability in Europe and the world. The minister also stressed the importance attached by Czechoslovakia to the decision to resume talks on confidence- and security-building measures in Europe.

The final document enhances the principles of the all-European process and strengthens the principles on which relations between states are to develop. At the same time it creates the scope for the development of cooperation in other spheres—political, economic, ecological and humanitarian.

Non-traditional possibilities also open up in economic cooperation, the minister said and pointed out that reserves so far unused by the Helsinki process exist in this field.

Certain dissonance was also heard at the Vienna follow-up meeting in the form of attacks against some socialist countries, at variance with the conclusions of the Final Act which include respect for state sovereignty, the minister said. It is paradoxical that precisely those, in whose countries the police was taking such brutal actions as for instance in Miami, tried to lecture on human rights observance.

However, the spirit which prevailed in Vienna, clearly proved that the participating states want to further develop extensive dialogue necessary for a thaw in the international atmosphere. The Czechoslovak initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbour relations on the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, and the latest proposals concerning the environment, fully fitted into this framework. This was confirmed by bilateral talks the minister held with his colleagues in Vienna, he said.

Thoughts about who won in Vienna appeared in connection with the results of the meeting. The minister stressed that victory was clearly gained by common sense of all participants, their sense of the reality, readiness to cooperate for the sake of strengthening peace and security and the construction of a common European house. Czechoslovakia is prepared to actively participate in this effort.

Johanes Meets Spanish Counterpart

LD2001021989 Prague CTK in English 1918 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Vienna Jan 19 (CTK Correspondent)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes met here today with his Spanish counterpart Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez.

They discussed the present state and perspectives of contacts between the two countries, especially economic issues. They also spoke about the development of cooperation between the European Economic Community (EEC) and Czechoslovakia.

Both representatives called the Vienna follow-up meetting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe a significant progressive step on the road towards the strengthening of peace, security and detente in Europe.

Nonaligned Movement Ministers Committee Meets

SFRY's Loncar Addresses Meeting

LD1401151189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1245 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Text] Nicosia, 14 Jan (TANJUG)—"The Nonaligned Movement must choose its priorities for the present stage of the development of international relations and lay down the beginning of specific action very quickly. It must come up with realistic proposals suitable to the time and situation and must do so as early as the impending September summit in Belgrade. Otherwise we will go on exhausting ourselves with a broad range of issues which dilute our efforts and potential, and which in the long term can undermine the existing confidence in the movement."

This was said today by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, during the exchange of views at the Nicosia Nonaligned ministerial committee conference. His statement was some sort of "diplomatic riposte" to the stands forwarded by some of his counterparts during the debate last night, which referred to the dilemma whether in the updating, opening, and democratization progress the movement should invite to its meetings countries which are not members of the movement or observers or guests when the topics are global.

He recalled that it was indispensable for the movement to devote its attention predominantly to international economic and financial issues. This is why, in his view, in approaching other countries one must use the argument that international economic relations and development are inseparably tied up with international stability and security. In this respect, Loncar believes, special attention must be paid to focal points of crises, especially those where no progress has been made in finding a solution.

Continuing his statement, our federal secretary reminded the meeting participants from about 50 nonaligned countries that the ideas to democratize the movement do not at all amount to a redefinition of the principles and objectives of the policy of nonalignment.

"The principles of the movement and its objectives are firm and well known. On instructions of the nonaligned ministerial conference in Nicosia last year our meeting today must critically reexamine the preparations and the organization of the meeting, the substance and the range of the documents which it passes and adopts, the forms and methods of its actions, and the efficiency of the totality of its instruments," said Loncar. This is why, he said, it is imperative that the movement efficiently and correctly respond to the fast changes occurring in the world, strengthen its activity in selected areas, bolster its ability to start efficient and timely actions, and take an active part in the quest for the solutions to the problems of the present-day world.

A direct and open exchange of views on all suggested ideas, stressed our federal secretary, should help lay down all the objectives, therefore the objective of the meeting in Nicosia is not to coordinate the formulations or to approve any document or "paper" but to lay down the direction of our activity in the period ahead.

Loncar pointed out that the active role of the movement is also required in the areas of preserving human rights, ensuring the progress of science and technology for the benefit of all of mankind, protecting the human environment, struggling against terrorism and drug traffic, and combating infectious diseases.

Ending his statement Loncar recalled that dialogue is gaining the upper hand in the world today, which is why nonaligned nations must open up and take part in it. This is why the idea of inviting "nonmembers" to the meetings can only serve further democratization of the Nonaligned Movement and would in no way make it possible for influence to be brought to bear on its decisions. Such a practice would only contribute to the establishment of direct contact and better understanding of the stands of the nonaligned nations, because it is difficult to imagine that the development problems, the North-South relations, and the debt crisis can be tackled without the cooperation of great economic and financial powers, regardless of the way one may view them.

Decisions, Discussions Described

LD1601215089 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1721 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Nicosia, Jan 16 (TANJUG)—At the meeting of their ministerial committee, which ended here early today, the non-aligned decided to streamline their movement in order that it could deal with the challenges of the new international relations and to turn it into a more readily acceptable interoluctor by those who do not belong to it.

The gathering represented a broad and democratic rostrum at which representatives of 59 countries for the first time made public a detailed "stock-taking" of their mode of action, the taking of decisions and their implementation. It was also at this meeting that certain countries said publicly what dissatisfies and immobilises them.

A number of participants expressed their fear of changes and of intensifying the dialogue with non-member countries. But the assessment prevailed eventually that developments on the international scene confirm the correctness of the authentic principles of the movement, as well as that the movement should modernise itself and adjust to the challenges of time.

The working agreement in Nicosia showed that the course of international developments and the needs of the Non-Aligned Movement for its speedy and effective

integration have obliterated the former division into "radicals" and "moderates", with the preservation of the specific interests of individual regions or countries.

In addition to reaffirming the fundamental principles of the Movement of Non-Alignment, the meeting suggested new forms of action. Non-aligned summits and ministerial conferences will continue to be held every three years, but there is also being introduced the institution of "thematic gatherings" which will immediately be followed up by action.

The open debate on the practical and always awkward topic—the financing of the summit—resulted in the adoption of the recommendation that all participants should share the cost. It was stressed that voluntary contributions from the more well-to-do members will not be rejected.

Almost none of the participants in the Nicosia gathering, in speaking about Yugoslavia as the host to the next summit in September this year, failed to underline its role as one of the founders of the movement and an unwavering fighter for a better world.

Balkan Deputy Ministers Convene in Tirana

SFRY's Maksic Speaks

LD1901035189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1952 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, Jan 18 (TANJUG)—We came to the Tirana meeting convinced that the degree of readiness for cooperation of all participants surpasses the understandable difficulties and differences, Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Minister Milivoje Maksic said today on the first day of the meeting of the Balkan countries' deputy foreign ministers in Tirana.

Maksic stressed that Balkan cooperation started with the settlement of concrete questions of common interest and added more than 30 multilateral cooperation projects have already been launched.

Maksic said that national minorities as a "factor of linkage, stability and cooperation, as bridges of friendship" have special importance for relations among Balkan countries. He added, however, that "bridges of friendship" can only have a two-way character.

A positive process of cooperation has started in the Balkans and chances are good that it will continue to develop in many spheres of mutual interest, Albanian Prime Minister Adil Carcani said in his message to the participants in the meeting. "The Albanian Government has a sincere interest that the spirit of understanding and confidence will prevail in the Balkans," he stressed.

In an article entitled "Best wishes to the Balkan meeting in Tirana," the Albanian official daily ZERI I POPULLIT points to the spirit of understanding that prevailed during the preparations for the meeting as an expression of readiness of all the Balkan countries to develop cooperation.

The BASHKIMI daily lists many of the Balkan countries' activities aimed at the development of cooperation after last year's meeting in Belgrade and notes that first steps had been made in the process of the arming cooperation, understanding and confidence.

Cooperation Discussed

LD2001032589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1325 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, Jan 19 (TANJUG)—Deputy foreign ministers of the six Balkan countries—Yugoslavia, Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria, Albania and Romania—today continued talks on further promotion of cooperation in the Balkans.

Today and tomorrow the experience so far and results of cooperation achieved since the ministerial level meeting in Belgrade last February are to be discussed and the content and dates for meetings this year, as well as the host country to the next ministerial meeting are to be set.

It is learned that the delegations have reached an agreement that the organisation of the ministerial meeting next year be entrusted to Albania, while foreign ministers will meet informally this autumn in New York at the U.N. General Assembly session.

The opening of the current meeting in Tirana is characterised by an evident readiness that new impulses be given to the Balkan cooperation. This is an obvious consequence of the realisation that this is the way to better days in the Balkans. This is an important development in relation to the Belgrade meeting when scepticism was felt and when more effort was invested in seeking ways to cooperation, so that restraint in opinions was more evident.

The questions of national minorities was raised here only by Yugoslavia and Albania as a possibility for parts of nations living in the territory of other countries to become a factor of stability and bridges of friendship. Yugoslavia has expanded its stand on the question, while Albania remains within the framework of the positive stand set out at the ministerial level meeting in Belgrade last February.

The meeting in Tirana is also characterised by a calmer, more flexible and more realistic discussion of the two subjects which were controversial to some extent at the Belgrade and Sofia meetings—the holding of a Balkan summit and turning the Balkans into a nuclear and chemical weapons free zone.

Albania proposed the adoption of a joint document which would include the principles of international relations. The proposal, which will be discussed further, did not go into detail, but an impression is that it would represent a form of a mini-Helsinki charter.

On the whole, the Tirana meeting participants are investing efforts not to burden the favourable climate. Assessment is set out that the spirit of multilateral Balkan cooperation, which includes tolerance, respect of objective differences and an effort to settle problems, has been affirmed here and developed positively. Remarks of some of the participants are interesting because of the fact that because four of six Balkan countries belong to two different groups, the role of Albania and Yugoslavia, which are outside these groups, becomes more important in a situation when a generally acceptable stand has to be found on some questions on which there is not full accord.

As far as the host is concerned, Albania is investing every effort to contribute by its hospitality and good organisation to the first multilateral meeting in Albania in the last few decades being really successful.

Albania's Kapllani Comments

AU1901175989 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Report on news conference given by Deputy Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani "following this morning's session" of the meeting of Balkan deputy foreign ministers in Tirana on 19 January]

[Text] The meeting of the Balkan deputy foreign ministers continued its proceedings this morning. The ATA correspondent was informed that the delegations exchanged opinions on the trends of Balkan cooperation and on questions related to understanding and trust in our region. The talks reflected a common desire that the steps already undertaken in the direction of broader cooperation between the Balkan states should be further promoted. The activities carried out so far have shown that greater opportunities exist to extend cooperation in various fields and in the common interest. A number of important working meetings will take place in the current year in the fields of the economy, foreign trade, industrial cooperation, and technology transfer. Other meetings will be held on questions pertaining to culture, humanitarian issues, and problems concerning the media, and in order to exchange opinions on measures intended to promote understanding and security in the Balkans, and so forth.

Following this morning's session, on behalf of the leaders of the various participating delegations, Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Albania, informed ATA, press, and radio-television correspondents, as well as journalists from Balkan and other countries, about the proceedings so far:

It is my pleasure, in the capacity of chairman of the meeting of deputy foreign ministers, to inform you about the proceedings. You participated in the opening ceremony of the meeting and are acquainted with the speeches delivered by the leaders of the various delegations. You are thus acquainted with the ideas that have been expounded and the proposals that have been made by the various delegations. Yesterday [18 January] afternoon we continued the discussions around the second and third points on the agenda. All the delegations addressed the meeting. Their leaders assessed the activities that have been carried out, drew conclusions about the experience that has been gained in certain fields of Balkan cooperation, and expressed their opinion on how they perceive future inter-Balkan activities and on the best ways of making these activities as effective as possible.

All delegations welcomed our suggestion that the coming meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states be held in Tirana. We also set concrete dates for a number of other activities. We concluded that, through joint efforts, we can assure the further successful development and consolidation of Balkan cooperation and understanding. This requires the commitment of each Balkan state, as well as our collective commitment. It is very important that everyone is conscious that the alternative we have opted for in favor of understanding, trust, and cooperation in the Balkans is a realistic alternative, and is in conformity with the interests of the Balkan peoples and countries, peace, and security in our region.

Albania's Myftiu Meets Delegates

AU1901195389 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Manush Myftiu, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received separately Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the people's Republic of Bulgaria, and Milivoje Maksic, federal deputy secretary of foreign affairs of the SFRY, who are participating in the meeting of the deputy ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries.

Comrade Manush Myftiu talked about the importance of the meeting in promoting a spirit of understanding and friendly cooperation in the Balkans. He also stressed that good-neighborliness and the development of good bilateral relations between the Balkan states serve Balkan cooperation and the fulfillment of the aspirations of the Balkan peoples to live in peace and friendship.

The receptions were attended by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and the respective ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Bulgaria and the SFRY in Tirana.

Further on Myftiu-Ganev Talks

AU1901202489 Sofia BTA in English 1958 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, January 19 (BTA special correspondent)—Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria and head of the Bulgarian delegation at the meeting of high officials of the foreign ministries of the Balkan countries in Tirana, this morning was received by Mr Manush Myftiu, member of Politburo of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labour and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Albania.

Mr Manush Myftiu expressed his satisfaction with the upgraded development of Bulgaro-Albanian relations and said that there are great possibilities for finding suitable ways for their being advanced further.

Mr Ivan Ganev underlined Bulgaria's desire to actively work for the promotion of cooperation in all fields. "We share interests in common and there is nothing to divide us", he pointed out.

The meeting was held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

'Positive Change' Noted

LD2001232189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2040 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, Jan 20 (TANJUG)—Consultations between deputy foreign ministers of the six Balkan states are being assessed in Tirana today as the mainstay of a positive change of the reality in the Peninsula which has undergone a successful transformation in the past 11 months since the Belgrade ministerial conference of the Balkan states.

The basic characteristics of the meeting were its concreteness and the fact that the officials consulted in a different climate which nobody tried to burden with the many problems which objectively exist between the Balkan countries.

The participants focused their attention on seeking those fields of cooperation which can realistically be expected to yield positive results speedily, as a steppingstone towards resolving those more serious problems in evidence in mutual relations.

Thus, Bulgaria and Turkey refrained from publicly mentioning their dispute over the position of ethnic minorities. Yugoslavia and Albania discussed the minorities issue only in terms of specifying the criteria for overcoming the problem at a time when a favourable climate and conditions for this should be created, in order that minorities should be a bridge of cooperation and not a cause of dissention.

It was agreed that the second ministerial conference of the Balkan states be held in Tirana in October next year. In the autumn of this year, the foreign ministers of these countries are to meet for informal consultations during the U.N. General Assembly session in New York.

The meetings are to create conditions for a future Balkan summit, although, at this point, it does not seem likely that this should happen in the foreseeable future.

A number of concrete agreements on developing cooperation, reached during the meeting, indicate that the Balkan peninsula which, mainly through outside influence, has for a long time been regarded as a "powder keg," is becoming a region with a strongly pronounced new spirit directed at cooperation, understanding and mutual respect.

The Tirana meeting, certainly one of the most successful consultations among the Balkan countries ever, confirmed commitment to the idea of cooperation in the peninsula, cooperation which will not only strengthen the collective spirit and each individual country, but will also contribute to an easier and speedier integration of these countries—Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Romania, Turkey and Yugoslavia—in European and world processes, preparing them for facing up to the challenges of the 21st century.

It will be a long time before Balkan statesmen can say that they have attained the aspirations of their peoples to live in harmony and to increase their strength through cooperation, understanding and good-neighborliness. However, major steps in this direction have been taken in Tirana in the past several days, although most of the work is yet to be done.

Talks Held With SFRY Deputy Foreign Minister

Meets With Plaka

LD2101181689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1640 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—During their meeting in Tirana today, Yugoslav and Albanian Deputy Foreign Ministers Milivoje Maksic and Sokrat Plaka confirmed their readiness to promote bilateral relations. The directions in which the relations between the two countries should be promoted were also discussed. The need was stressed to speed up the work on a consular convention and on the establishment of a mixed committee for economic cooperation.

The Albanians suggested that the Yugoslavs build and equip a mine in Albania for which Albania could compensate by delivering ore to Yugoslavia. The rationalization of the use of the Titograd-Shkoder railway line was also discussed.

Received by Malile

AU2201195289 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Today Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received Milivoje Maksic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs of the SFRY, who took part in the meeting of deputy ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan states and stayed on in Tirana for bilateral talks. The success of the meeting of deputy ministers of foreign affairs of Balkan states and the need to further promote the process of Balkan cooperation and understanding were discussed during the talks. Views were also exchanged on existing relations between Albania and the SFRY, and the desire was expressed to expand them in the fields of economic and trade exchanges, culture, technology, science, transportation, the use of water resources, and other areas.

At the same time, Comrade Reis Malile pointed out that the relations between our two countries are influenced by the problem of Kosovo, and by the situation of the Albanians in Yugoslavia in general. This influence, he stressed, can be positive or negative, in direct proportion to the attitude maintained toward the Albanians there. When we talk about this, we are impelled by our concern for the future of relations between our countries and their development on paths of good-neighborliness, and a sincere desire for peace and understanding in the Balkans. The Albanian foreign minister said that the Albanian side has always been and remains ready to discuss with the Yugoslav side, in a constructive way, the further development of relations and cooperation on an equal footing and to our mutual benefit in those directions that serve the freedom, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and friendship among peoples.

TANJUG Views Departure From Isolationism

LD2101044989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0131 GMT 21 Jan 89

[By Aleksandar Novacic]

[Text] Tirana, January 21 (TANJUG)—Albania, the only European country which did not participate in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe 10 years ago, is gradually abandoning its isolationist policy and now gives priority to international bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

The meeting of the Balkan countries deputy foreign ministers, which ended here yesterday, has reaffirmed Albania's increasing interest for active participation in international cooperation and detente.

The Albanian foreign minister has said that promotion of friendly relations and cooperation among the Balkan countries represented a "permanent orientation of the country's foreign policy" and the daily BASHKIMI recently wrote that Albania intends to use the Balkans to open up to Europe and the world.

Experts on Albania have noticed these changes in Albania's foreign policy some time ago. Albanian leader Ramiz Alia recently said that Albania's progress and foreign policy could not be treated separately.

The new trend in Albania's foreign policy has been followed by broadened economic relations between Albania and other countries, including West European countries. The Federal Republic of Germany is now Albania's major foreign trade partner, and economic cooperation with Italy, Austria and some other Western countries is gaining in importance.

It has been noticed that economic ties with East European countries, especially with the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, have broadened.

Some Western observers see the causes for these changes in the fact that Albania had to choose between poverty and isolation on one hand, and modernization and international cooperation on the other—and chose the other.

At the just ended meeting, Albanian Deputy Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapliani stressed that the Balkans are facing the 21st Century and that Albania, as a European country, cannot lag behind in science, technology and production. He said that the fact that we live in different social systems was no reason for us not to cooperate for the sake of quicker development.

That Albania is keeping pace with Europe can be seen in the modern computer and information center, acquired through UNESCO for the conference, and in the fact that its news agency ATA has asked to join the Alliance of European News Agencies.

At present, there is only one permanent foreign correspondent in Tirana—the correspondent of the Chinese news agency XINHUA—and there are only 18 embassies but there are indications that new ones will open.

Zhivkov Interviewed on Staff Reductions, USSR

PM2001142689 Paris LE MONDE in French 18 Jan 89 pp 1, 3

[Interview with BCP General Secretary Todor Zhivkov by Jacques Amalric and Sylvie Kauffmann in Sofia; date not given]

[Text] Sofia—[Interviewer] What do you think of the current debate in Hungary and Poland on the multiparty system?

[Zhivkov] Every country has its own situation which is the result of its history. Bulgaria cannot be compared with any of the other socialist countries. After the war, we were one of the weakest European countries, economically speaking. Since then, I do not think that any country in the world has developed as much as Bulgaria. That is because we started from a very low level of development, which was not true of Czechoslovakia, for instance. That shows you that things cannot be seen in the same light everywhere.

[Interviewer] Let us return to the question of a multiparty system. Is it a concept which irritates you?

[Zhivkov] No, it does not irritate me. Do not worry, the situation will be brought under control.

But in Bulgaria, there will be no party in power other than us. It was history which determined that; similarly, it was history which determined the existence of capitalist and socialist countries.

[Interviewer] What do you think about the unofficial glasnost and restructuring club formed last November?

[Zhivkov] What can I say? You may not know that we have more than 100 mass organizations and clubs in Bulgaria. We allow great freedom for these forms of social expression in the framework of restructuring. This shows how much we welcome efforts by individuals who want to help restructuring. But we must also know exactly what those people are seeking. Hence the need for them to make it clear what their goals are and to say who they represent.

[Interviewer] Do you mean that the club should submit an application for registration?

[Zhivkov] Exactly. That is compulsory.

[Interviewer] But some of the club members, who were also party members, have been expelled from the latter.... Is membership in both impossible?

[Zhivkov] No, it is not impossible. It all depends on the objectives you are pursuing.

[Interviewer] Why did you arrest and then release several members of the informal human rights association on the eve of Mr Mitterrand's arrival in your country?

[Zhivkov] I know nothing about that—I was on vacation. But you must realize that a Bulgarian citizen can only be arrested on a court order. I will investigate the matter and will inform you about it. Meanwhile, this is what I can tell you: Some 25 people were arrested, and 17 of them had already been sentenced for common crimes; one was even sentenced by a Yugoslav criminal court, another was sentenced for fascism, others for terrorism, and some for espionage.

We also note that these individuals are causing trouble again on the eve of President Mitterrand's visit. At all events, they are merely individuals living on the fringes of our society. However, thank you for mentioning it: It enables us to explain the facts to our people.

"Human Rights: a Crucial Question"

[Interviewer] What do you think of the emergence of the human rights concept on the international scene in East-West relations over the past few years?

[Zhivkov] Human rights are a crucial question; they are the greatest problem. How can we ensure that people really feel like human beings and can develop fully? It is time we stopped talking about human rights in abstract terms and established real conditions for their development. From this viewpoint, and in socialist conditions, openness is necessary, but it must not degenerate into demagoguery and give people the illusion that they can do anything they wish. Just think that the average income in Bulgaria is $4,000, whereas in France it is $20,000! We must be honest and tell our people the truth. I am too close to retirement to sink into demagoguery at my age.

[Interviewer] But do you agree with Mr Gorbachev when he talks of "international norms" in the human rights sphere?

[Zhivkov] I fully agree with him on this point, and we are in complete agreement with all the decisions made within the framework of the Helsinki accords. Moreover, we have no disagreement with the USSR on international problems and the need for new thinking. We know that capitalism itself has changed and that it has a new content, and that this development of capitalism has an impact on our society. But we must not conclude from this that stereotypes and dogmatism only exist in our country.

[Interviewer] Are you not worried by some events in the USSR, in the Baltic countries, and in the Caucasus for instance, and by the resurgence of nationalism in Yugoslavia?

[Zhivkov] You know, the Soviet Union is a vast state, a superpower and a multinational state, which is not true of us. I do not envy Comrade Gorbachev and I told him so: He will find it very difficult to solve the nationalities problem. The same is true of Yugoslavia, but Bulgaria does not have that problem. It is due to the accumulation of past mistakes. These questions have merely increased with economic development and with better education among the different nationalities. And today all these people can no longer accept the stagnation from which they have suffered, and they are reacting to all those mistakes.

[Interviewer] Do you think that all the criticism of stagnation which can be heard in the USSR is justified?

[Zhivkov] Frankly, I am not really qualified to answer. I am not evading the question, but it is not for me to answer it. We in Bulgaria do not accept everything that is published in the USSR on this subject. Of course, we report everything that is happening in the Soviet Union, but we follow Comrade Gorbachev's line. Every word of his speeches is published in our country. But we do not feel the need to publish everything that is written in the USSR, be it in OGONEK or elsewhere.

[Interviewer] Do you now regret giving your approval to the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia?

[Zhivkov] Why go back over the past? Is it necessary, and is this the place to do it? After all, Bulgaria is not the Soviet Union and does not have to answer all the questions. There is no reason why this affair should be seen only from the Bulgarian vantage point, which is very limited.

Restructuring

[Interviewer] What progress has restructuring made in Bulgaria?

[Zhivkov] First, let us say that we did not start restructuring. It was the Soviet Union that launched it, and it has conquered the world. We are well aware that it would have been impossible to carry out restructuring in Bulgaria or any socialist country if it had not started in the USSR.

Things have moved very quickly in our country, because restructuring was only launched 18 months ago at the July 1987 Plenum, and we call it the "July Concept." It is impossible to work miracles in such a short time. But we now think we are ready to successfully carry out this task. The first step concerned the economy. That is why we have just adopted a decree on the enterprises, which attaches vital importance in setting up enterprises to producers rather than central administration. From this viewpoint, I would say that there is no theoretical difference between our enterprises and yours.

However, we are anxious to maintain the postulate that socialist property is one and indivisible in its multiplicity. But there is still a long way to go from theory to practice. We have therefore reached the conclusion that all enterprises must be equal in the eyes of the state and in regard to taxation, regardless of whether they are under cooperative, individual, or family ownership or under appointed management, and whatever their sphere of activity.

[Interviewer] Will these enterprises have a duty to be profitable?

[Zhivkov] State control will intervene at the end of the production process, when the operation produces results. Thus, the state will take around 50 percent of the profits. If there are no profits, the enterprise will be declared bankrupt unless the state decides to intervene. If there are profits, it is also planned that 30 percent should be reinvested, and the remaining 20 percent should be used to pay dividends and local taxes.

[Interviewer] Who will fix the prices?

[Zhivkov] The prices will be fixed by the market and international prices but, for essential consumer goods, the state will regulate them alongside the market, especially at the start of the process. During the transition period, the state will fix prices, because we cannot allow inflation and unemployment to increase.

[Interviewer] Will some products still be subsidized?

[Zhivkov] It is very likely that that will continue, especially in agriculture, in some industrial sectors which have a very low profit margin, and in some branches of advanced technology whose development will be encouraged.

[Interviewer] Are you observing reservations about restructuring among party cadres and among civil servants?

[Zhivkov] Yes, it is normal for there to be people who cannot tolerate change. If there were no such people, there would be no cause for worry, for it would mean that no change was taking place. Some cadres, who were very active during the resistance period, do not understand our approach, but most follow us. However, in Bulgaria we do not have the problems which other socialist countries are experiencing.

[Interviewer] Does restructuring imply staff reductions among civil servants and among party officials?

[Zhivkov] Yes, for instance, the number of party officials must be reduced by 50 percent; there will also be job cuts in the mass organizations, the trade unions, and the

Communist Youth Union. In regard to the state apparatus, I cannot tell you the exact percentage, but personnel will also be reduced. In any event, all those people will be transferred to other tasks.

[Interviewer] You have been in power since 1954. Do you plan to retire?

[Zhivkov] Do you know that we in Bulgaria were the first to raise the question of limiting the number of successive mandates? For instance, we proposed to limit the term of officials to two successive mandates of 5 years, a third only being possible in exceptional circumstances. Our proposal was accepted by the leaderships in all the socialist countries. I cannot therefore be suspected of wanting to stay in power until I die.

If you will allow me to joke about it, I would say that my position is this: The party's rules must first be changed, and that can only be done at the 14th party congress in 1992. I would then only be able to have two or three mandates of 5 years. I could therefore very well not retire until I am 95 years old. You will all be welcome on that occasion as guests, not to work.

Zhivkov Greets President Bush on Inauguration

AU2001184789 Sofia BTA in English
1829 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, January 20 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, has sent U.S. President Mr George Bush a cable of greetings in connection with his coming into office. The cable expresses wishes for successful work to the welfare of the American people, for strengthening of the trends of improvement of the international situation and understanding between peoples.

I would like to use the opportunity and express my conviction that you and I should continue to work together for the development of Bulgaro-American relations in the spheres of mutual interest, the cable says.

Francois Mitterrand Concludes Official Visit

Meets Academicians, Students

AU1901154189 Sofia BTA in English
1458 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, January 19 (BTA)—During the second day of his visit to this country Mr Francois Mitterrand, president of France, took part in a roundtable talk at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

The mutual desire for deepening of the cooperation, for closer contacts, which prevailed in the tone of yesterday's official Bulgaro-French talks, were also present at this discussion.

Acad. Blagovest Sendov, chairman of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, pointed out that in the sphere of science, where only truth is important, Bulgaria and France register equivalent and mutual respect. A number of French citizens in the past and today are members of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and a lot of Bulgarian scholars are holders of French scientific and other distinctions.

The scientific relations between the two countries, regulated by the agreement between the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences and the National Centre for Scientific Research, are undergoing dynamic development. The spheres of contacts are also widening: Along with fundamental research, a number of important applied research projects are also carried out. For the time being, the joint work in the sphere of electronics, nuclear research, physics of solid substances, physico-chemistry, computer linguistics and molecular biology still have priority. The scientific interaction in the sphere of social sciences—sociology of labour and family, archaelogy and folklore, is a traditional one, but we want that they, as well as other social sciences, should occupy the place they deserve in the future activity, said Academician Blagovest Sendov.

He added that the cooperation with France should not be only in the framework of the exchange of information and the work on joint themes. French-Bulgarian laboratories could be established, for instance, in spheres which are especially prospective and of mutual interest, spheres like molecular and cell biology, immunology, etc.

Both sides expressed wish for more direct contacts and exchange of specialists.

President Mitterrand said that his country is ready to undertake its half of the road toward upsurge of the Bulgaro-French scientific and cultural relations.

Later, at a ceremony in the Sofia University, Mr Francois Mitterrand was awarded the title "Doctor Honoris Causa" in law.

The French president visited the French language secondary school in Sofia and had a meeting with students of the Sofia University.

At the ceremony, and at the other two meetings, Mr Francois Mitterrand spoke of the importance of the cultural relations between the two countries, pointing out that his first task after returning to France would be to acquaint his ministries with the great popularity of French culture in Bulgaria. I will insist on the translation of more Bulgarian books in French. In this sphere, he said, we can learn something from you. He spoke also about the need to give priority to the exchange of students and lecturers in the plans for cultural cooperation between the two countries.

President Mitterrand expressed his satisfaction over the meeting with the Bulgarian students by talking with them for more than an hour instead of the 30 minutes envisaged in the programme. Well, I will be quicker with my lunch, said Mr Francois Mitterrand, the Bulgarian students are very bright and interesting.

Visits Plovdiv

AU1901164189 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov and Francois Mitterrand, president of France, accompanied by his wife, visited Plovdiv this afternoon.

At Plovdiv airport they were welcomed by the leaders of Plovdiv Oblast. The eminent visitors' motorcade then set off for the Bratska Mogila memorial complex, where they learned about the revolutionary traditions and historical past of the Plovdiv region. Flowers were laid before the eternal flame at the memorial.

The visitors also toured the architectural and cultural sights of Plovdiv.

Economic Agreements Signed

AU1901194889 Sofia BTA in English 1819 GMT 19 Jan 89

["Bulgaria, France: Active Business Contacts"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 19 (BTA)—Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning of Bulgaria, and Mr Hubert Curien, minister of research and technology of France, signed a memorandum on the discussion on questions of scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries. Electronics, informatics, biotechnology, agriculture, ecology and some other fields are given priority in this cooperation.

The memorandum on the discussions held between Mr Atanas Popov, president of the Communications Association, and Mr Paul Quiles, minister of posts, telecommunications, and space, stresses the shared satisfaction with the cooperation in this field. The introduction of digital information services and the computerization of postal communications will be the main directions of the future cooperation.

The French group "Bouygues" [as received] and some Bulgarian companies agreed on establishing a joint large-project engineering and construction venture for the production, import and export of building materials and building equipment. The Bulgarians will hold 51 per cent of the shares and "Bouygues"—49 per cent. The joint company will build and take part in the construction of large tourist and industrial projects in Bulgaria in the next few years. They include the construction of a new international airport and the underground in Sofia, hotels and other tourist facilities in the capital and all over the country. Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations of Bulgaria, and Mr Jean-Marie Rausch, minister of foreign trade of France, attended the signature of the protocol.

The "Balkan Poma" joint venture was established by Bulgarian companies and the French company "Pomagalski". It will be involved in engineering activity, including the transfer of rope-way technologies. The "Poma" lift-making technology will be introduced at the Bulgarian plants of heavy engineering.

"Tourism in Bulgaria holds great prospects and I believe that our contacts in this field will be extended", said Mr Olivier Stirn, minister delegate for tourism of France, who attended the signature of the agreement on the establishment of "Balkan Poma". The minister said that a program laying the groundwork for a new stage in the cooperation between the two countries in tourism was outlined.

Today an agreement on mutual encouragement and protection of investments was ratified by the Governments of Bulgaria and France. The agreement will stimulate investors to participate in joint projects—companies, economic organizations—absolutely guaranteeing their rights at the same time.

Participates in News Briefing

AU2001095589 Sofia BTA in English 0813 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Sofia, January 20 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, and Mr Francois Mitterrand, president of France, are satisfied with the two-day discussions they had here. At a press conference held last night with more than 200 Bulgarian, French and other foreign journalists, they emphasized their satisfaction with the results of the talks which have opened great prospects for the cooperation between Bulgaria and France.

M. Francois Mitterrand stated that his visit to Bulgaria was very useful and gave a lot of results. Different agreements were signed in the sphere of industry and trade, other documents were ratified, commitments were made to sign documents in a number of fields, it was agreed what the relations in culture and research are going to be. Arrangements will be made so that Bulgarian and French institutes can work in partnership and joint ventures will be established, Mr Francois Mitterrand announced.

Sharing the assessments made by his guest, the Bulgarian leader, Mr Todor Zhivkov, said that he is optimistic as to the future of Bulgaro-French cooperation. "I believe we will manage to raise it to a new level", he pointed out.

Mr Todor Zhivkov said that the talks were held in the spirit of mutual understanding both with regard to bilateral relations and with regard to the problems of the

present international situation, new political thinking, the dynamism in the development of the East-West relations, peace, detente and rescuing mankind from a nuclear war.

Replying to a great number of questions, the two state leaders stated the positions of the two countries on the problems of disarmament, peace and detente in international relations.

We are on the right track, Mr Francois Mitterrand said analysing the results of the Vienna follow-up conference on security and cooperation in Europe and the Paris conference on the prohibition of chemical weapons. He highly appreciated the momentum nuclear disarmament gained in result of the meetings between Mr Ronald Reagan and Mr Mikhail Gorbachev. Mr Francois Mitterrand pointed out that the Vienna meeting had a very positive outcome in giving a mandate for negotiations on conventional disarmament. We insist on nuclear disarmament on the part of the Soviet Union and the United States which announced their intention to reduce their strategic weapons by 50 per cent, Mr Francois Mitterrand stated. He gave assurance that his country will join the process of nuclear disarmament when the two great powers reach a certain threshold which, in his opinion, is still far away.

Commenting on the same topic, Mr Todor Zhivkov underlined the great importance of the Vienna follow-up conference which was attended by representatives of all European countries, the United States and Canada. He assessed it as an unprecedented forum in the history of mankind which once again showed the path to the further development of the world and the present civilization, the construction of a common European home and the solution of all problems, even the most complicated ones, not only of the continent but on a regional scale.

Mr Todor Zhivkov explicitly pointed out that Bulgaria, being a country which signed the Vienna document, will observe it strictly in all its aspects.

Departs 19 Jan

AU2301124089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] President Francois Mitterrand departed from Bulgaria on the evening of 19 January. The French President was cordially seen off by Comrade Todor Zhivkov at Sofia airport.

The two state leaders parted after a cordial handshake.

Comrades Georgi Atanasov, Petur Mladenov, Petur Tanchev, Andrey Lukanov, Georgi Yordanov, and Stoyan Ovcharov, as well as other officials saw the French delegation off. Georgi Yovkov and Bertrand de Guilhem de Lataillade, the two countries' ambassadors, were also present at the farewell ceremony.

An honor guard unit of the Bulgarian People's Army presented arms. The national anthems of Bulgaria and France were played by a military band. With a friendly "farewell," flowers were presented to the French head of state and his spouse.

Importance of Leninism to Restructuring Analyzed

AU1701112089 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No 3 16 Jan 89 pp 1, 8

[Article by Professor Dr Mincho Semov: "Lenin and Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] The wealth contained in Lenin's ideological-political cause truly is inexhaustible. His discovery at the end of World War I that the socialist revolution can triumph in a single country opened the road for the practical preparation of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which marked the beginning of a new era of human history. Lenin's theoretical position that it is possible to construct socialism in a single country established the platform for the fundamental transformations in Russia and for forming a socialist society after 1917. [passage omitted]

During the period of the personality cult, we used to like to invoke Lenin. However, in many, perhaps even most cases, this was done not because of essential considerations, and Lenin's thoughts were not applied as guiding instructions for practical activity. We did this in order to find shelter under the umbrella of his unquestionable authority. We used to quote him not because we were interested in the truth contained in his thoughts, but because we relied on the inviolabilty of his teaching as perceived by the masses. Instead of seeking the spirit of Lenin, we relied on the holy spirit of Lenin, as if this made our own thoughts holy. We raised Lenin very high, even to the status of a saint, without noticing that by doing precisely this, we were detaching ourselves from him and from the real practice of social life, where many things developed that had nothing to do with Lenin's teaching.

Now is the time for a serious attitude toward Lenin and Leninism. We do not "worship" Lenin any longer, but rather seek the real value of his thoughts and ideas in order to help find the correct road to the future. I think that this is the correct attitude toward the cause of the great man. Yet we must do something else. We must return to Lenin and Leninism as a whole, as a comprehensive theory, because only in this way will we extract the most important factor—a method of thinking and a method of analyzing and generalizing reality and revealing the secrets of social life.

At present we hear views that this or that opinion of Lenin is obsolete, has lost its force, or has not been confirmed by the historical practice. He himself never claimed to be infallible. It is absolutely normal that there are processes and phenomena in our quickly developing world that we must explain without seeking specific

assistance from Lenin. This can be best done when we master the essence of Leninism. Lenin's methodology belongs to the eternal elements of human knowledge!

Daily Condemns Shultz Remarks on Human Rights

AU2001124089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Jan 89 p 1

[Jozef Janto dispatch from Vienna: "Festive Session in Vienna"]

[Excerpts] Vienna—The festive closing session of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting opened in the Austria Center in Vienna on Tuesday [17 January] morning. [passage omitted]

The participants awaited with great interest the speech of U.S. Secretary of State,G. Shultz because only a few hours remain before he concludes his work in this post in the present U.S. administration, and because this probably was his last appearance before a similar forum.

He positively assessed the results of the Vienna meeting and said that the document produced by the Vienna meeting means a "hopeful period" for Europe. The danger of war has been lessened by disarmament and arms control. He voiced the conviction that the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe would succeed. The recognition that security cannot be ensured by military means is increasingly gaining ground, according to what he said.

In his 20-minute speech, which is the time limit for ministers' speeches, George Shultz devoted relatively much time to human rights issues, even though the U.S. delegation has the least right to act as an advocate of human rights. In this connection, he did not resist the temptation to pigeonhole socialist countries according to the ideas of the U.S. Administration. They, however, unlike the United States, contributed to a far greater extent than the U.S. delegation to reaching a compromise that made possible the agreement on the final document. George Shultz made special reference to the GDR, Romania, Bulgaria, and the CSSR. He expressly accused Czechoslovakia of "violating the commitments that the Czechoslovak Government solemnly assumed" by acting against the organizers of the provocative events held in Wenceslas Square in Prague over the past few days. The secretary of state was thus tendentiously and evidently distorting the facts by creating an impression, as if any of the participants in the Vienna meeting had accepted the obligation to give up the right to defend its own laws against those breaking them. Shultz's speech can rightly be regarded as an attempt to cast doubt on the principles of the Final Act of the Helsinki CSCE on noninterference in the internal affairs of other states. Following Shultz' example, the delegates of some other NATO countries also tried to launch similarly tendentious attacks from the rostrum of the Vienna meeting. [passage omitted]

Shultz Speech Criticized

AU2001174989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Jan 89 p 7

[Milan Jelinek commentary: "In the Prosecutor's Role?"]

[Text] On Tuesday [17 January] in Vienna, the U.S. secretary of state, George Shultz, indeed suffered bad luck: He was speaking on human rights when almost at the same time in his own country—in the city of Miami—new civil unrest flared up, fires broke out, and gunfire took place. Reports of casualties are reaching us. It has already been said many times that the U.S. Administration has the least right to proclaim itself as an advocate of human rights anywhere in the world, but the "misfortune" which on Tuesday overcame Secretary Shultz at the end of his career only crowned it satirically.

As we reported yesterday, Shultz attacked several socialist countries from the rostrum at the Vienna meeting. He condemned Czechoslovakia in connection with the act of provocation by dissident groups in Wenceslas Square in Prague. He maintained that we are breaking the commitments that our government "solemnly undertook" by its acceptance of the final document at the Vienna meeting. Obviously, he supposed that the opportune moment had arisen when it was possible to abuse such an important platform of the international stage to lecture other states on how they must behave, and what they can and cannot do, according to U.S. ideas. Apparently, he took upon himself the right to divide the states of the international community into pigeonholes, where the one and only decisive criterion is America's favor or disfavor.

Secretary Shultz has obviously adopted the role of inspector or prosecutor, one who considers as the only possible and correct interpretation of the way of life to be his own. He abused the joint agreement of 35 countries in order to begin passing off the U.S. interpretation of the Vienna document as the decisive one in international relations. To say the least, he made one mistake in this—no international document can cast doubts on the right of each state to stand up in defense of its own laws. For us, neither the Helsinki final document nor the Vienna final document are, nor can they become, a free bill of exchange, which would enable subversive, counterrevolutionary forces to implement the aim—for which they are striving—of overthrowing the socialist political system, of returning to capitalist ways.

Let us reiterate: In Vienna, no state, neither Czechoslovakia nor the United States, signed a document in which they renounced protection for their own laws against lawbreakers, or a document in which they pronounce that everyone can do whatever they wish. Secretary Shultz knows this very well, and he himself, as a representative of the U.S. Administration, is bound to respect and uphold the laws of his own country. Then why does he deny this right and duty to others, to us, to the CSSR? The law will remain the law—that is the favorite dictum

of President Reagan, who always uses this slogan in response to the American people when they complain about the severity of U.S. law that is implemented against them. It would be more than appropriate if a secretary in the administration did not forget his own President's remarks.

After all, the Final Act of the Helsinki conference explicitly binds its signatories to not interfering in the internal affairs of states, meaning that any kind of subversive activity from outside is unacceptable and inadmissible.

The international community agrees on one thing: that the nuclear age, the period in which we are now living, one full of burning issues, demands honest and sincere cooperation, a recognition of social values, which we all profess and which we all cherish, and an exchange of our cultural heritage. Responsible officials on both sides correctly maintain that "cold wars" cannot bring about a change in the objective balance of forces, that it is necessary to end the accusations and to change over to mutual understanding, to peaceful competition. The U.S. Administration endorses these ideas, and we do not want to believe that the speech by Secretary Shultz is a guide to how the next U.S. Administration should progress further.

As is known, the Czechoslovak Government has stopped jamming the transmitters of Radio Free Europe. The official radio station of the U.S. Administration, the Voice of America, also broadcasts to our territory. These stations in particular summon Czechoslovak citizens to demonstrations, to manifestations against our socialist system. They even give directions as to where and in which place people are to gather. That is not only interference; it is a direct appeal.... Perhaps both radio stations, which are paid for by the U.S. Administration and operate under the U.S. political leadership, want to return to the times when they acted as overt agents, organizers of espionage and counterrevolution against Czechoslovakia. It would surely be naive to suppose that we will sit at home with our arms folded while someone tries to burn down the roof of our house.

We are for dialogue with the U.S. Administration, we want to develop our relations to mutual advantage. We have not only good will, willingness, and political resolution on our side, but we are also prepared to develop such a dialogue in a constructive manner.

We want to continue further in developing the pan-European process, cooperation, the strengthening of security, and in the relaxation of tension. We value highly the results of the Vienna meeting. We will play our part in building a common home. We believe that the beneficial and good thing that is so much expected and demanded, which came out of the Vienna negotiations, is predominant and has a key meaning. We cannot remain silent, however, about the impertinent attacks on our homeland. We defend not only our honor and dignity, but also the inalienable right of every state which was represented at the Vienna conference.

Prague Disturbances 'Timed' for CSCE Meeting

AU2001141589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Jan 89 p 1

["wt"-signed report: "Repeated Disturbances"]

[Text] Prague—As our public was informed, repeated disturbances and acts of provocation have been staged in downtown Prague, thus disturbing public order and complicating the life of Prague citizens in that part of the city since Sunday, 15 January. Early on Wednesday [18 January] evening, a mob of about 1,000 people blocked normal everyday traffic in the upper part of Wenceslas Square. On this occasion, too, the purpose of the gathering, for which no permit had been issued, was made clear by the chanted slogans, which attacked the socialist system and its leading representatives.

The instigators of these acts want to destabilize our society and exert pressure on our socialist state. It is impossible not to see that the provocative efforts to achieve a confrontation with the state power are timed to coincide with the concluding session of the CSCE meeting in Vienna.

Palach Death Protests Continue 19 Jan

Police Take 'Decisive' Steps

LD1901180989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Early this evening in Wenceslas Square in Prague, groups of people assembled. They attempted to disrupt public order and shouted antistate slogans. Their provocation considerably complicated the situation in this part of Prague. Despite the police forces' repeated calls to disperse the unauthorized gathering, the groups did not listen. Therefore, the law enforcement units took decisive steps against them. As our correspondent reports at this moment, there is already calm on Wenceslas Square.

Further on 'Antistate' Rally

LD1901212589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Groups of antistate elements this evening once again attempted to organize provocative actions in Prague's Wenceslas Square. With speeches and shouted slogans they insulted the socialist system of our state. They also disrupted public order, and their behavior conflicted with the statement by the National Committee of Prague City, which sets out the law on organizing public gatherings in the protected area [pamatkova reservace] around the historic monument in Prague.

When this unauthorized action became antisocialist in nature and its participants did not heed the oft-repeated calls to disperse, members of the law enforcement bodies of the police and people's militia in the city center took swift and decisive steps against them. Several tens of people who played the greatest part in the provocative acts were detained. The provocation was not supported by the vast majority of Prague's citizens.

Prague Mayor Cited

LD1901215689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Mayor of the Capital Zdenek Horcik spoke on Czechoslovak television today about a number of serious violations of public order in Prague in connection with the aniversary of the tragic death of the student Palach.

As he emphasized, full responsibility for these illegal acts falls on the so-called Charter 77 and other unauthorized organizations and their spokemen. Zdenek Horcik said that all the people understand the need for the decisive steps of the organs of public order, members of the people's militia, and all those who have taken part in securing calm in the city center over the past few days.

He especially appealed to youth not to allow themselves to be taken advantage of and not to take part in actions organized by unauthorized groups in the center of the capital. He also called on parents and teachers to help explain the detrimental nature of these attempts and to themselves be examples of responsible citizens. [He further called] on all citizens of our capital to actively speak out against those who disrupt life in Prague in the interest of their personal goals.

20 Jan Protests Broken Up

AU2001181189 Paris AFP in English 1747 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Prague, 20 Jan (AFP)—Riot police with truncheons violently dispersed a demonstration in Prague's Wenceslas Square on Friday [20 January], the sixth straight day of mass protests to commemorate Jan Palach's suicide by fire 20 years ago.

Riot police and militiamen intervened as soon as the demonstrators, less numerous than in previous days, gathered in the late afternoon, according to an AFP correspondent at the scene.

Police had also intervened on Thursday to break up another demonstration, clubbing protesters in the crowd which was then estimated to number more than 5,000.

Police action appears to have grown more determined, a sign that the authorities have decided to try and repress the protests by force.

Police had refrained from intervening in Wednesday's demonstration, but used tear gas, water cannons and dogs to break up crowds in the central Prague square on the previous three days.

Jan Palach, a student, burned himself to death in Wenceslas Square in January 1969 to protest against the political "normalisation" which followed on the heels of the Soviet invasion which put an end to the so-called "Prague Spring" reforms of 1968.

Panelists Discuss Demonstrations

LD2001225189 Prague Television Service in Czech 1906 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Debate featuring Jaroslav Krupauer, Czech SR prosecutor general; Zbynik Kisewetter, secretary of the Prague National Committee; Karel Kaloc, Foreign Ministry official; and Jaroslav Janku, TV news editor and commentator; moderated in the studio by unidentified announcer—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified announcer] We have coined a working title for our debate: Right Is Duty. We want to talk about the events that are taking place this week in the center of Prague. All the media are reporting these, including TV reports. We are also carrying the views of citizens, the majority of whom are indignant and ask: What is the aim of the people in Wencelas Square? Many ask for radical measures to restore peace and order, but there are also those who talk about suppressing rights. We will try to answer these and similar questions. Our guests in the studio are: Dr Jaroslav Krupauer, prosecutor general of the Czech SR; Dr Zbynek Kisewetter, secretary of the Prague National Committee; Karel Kaloc, foreign Ministry official; and Jaroslav Janku, editor and commentator of the TV newsreel central editorial board. The first question goes to the Prague secretary. Can you tell us why the event in Wenceslas Square was not permitted?

[Kisewetter] The reply to this question is simple. In this case, the district national committe, namely its department for internal affairs, took into acount the fact that it is true that the organizers characterized the meeting as a commemorative action. However, we know from the Western media—and later it was reflected in leaflets and so on—that this was to have been a platform for antisocialist acts in this country. And that is why it was not permitted.

[Announcer] I will now ask the comrade prosecutor. What in the behavior of the people in Wenceslas Square is punishable?

[Krupauer] I could express it in the following way: Every participant in a banned demonstration or banned meeting can be punished, and more exactly, punished by law. Our legal system, of course, is based on the principle that sanctions and punishments are meted out only after

other, more lenient means have been exhausted. However, in cases where there is a gross and significant infringement of the law—and that describes this case—it would be a mistake not to use the possibility of sanctions. In other words, if we begin implementing legal sanctions, we will distinguish between individual participants according to the degree of their participation, according to the degree of importance of their share in actually infringing upon public order.

We can distinguish, I think, four categories of participants: first, the initiators and organizers of these actions which, as we have said, are being provoked with the aim of destabilizing the state, with the aim of damaging and subverting the social and state system of the Republic. Second, there are active agitators who disseminate among citizens appeals to particpate in the demonstrations, although it is known that these actions have antisocialist aims and, for that reason, cannot be permitted by the appropriate national committee. Then, there is the third large category, the majority of people, those who are neither organizers nor agitators but who have come to a given place with the aim of taking part in the banned demonstration, although they are aware that it is banned and they do not obey the appeal of security organs to disperse.

I would like to point out that there is also a fourth category, about which our public may not be informed. Namely, everyone who takes part in such a banned demonstration and does not obey the appeal of security organs to leave the area can be prosecuted. As far as this category is concerned, repressive measures have been used only to a very limited degree.

[Announcer] What about curious onlookers?

[Krupauer] Yes, these are the curious onlookers who, of course, in the long run make up the most numerous group of participants in this demonstration. Then, of course, there is the responsibility for the minor infringement of public order which is punishable by the national committee.

[Announcer] Thank you for your very complete answer. Comrade Kaloc, some foreign press agencies say that human rights are being infringed upon in our country. Can you say what the situation is from the point of view of the CSSR's obligations in international relations?

[Kaloc] As for international legal obligations, as far as the right to assemble is concerned, it is possible to say the following: The right to assembly is governed by Article 21 of the international agreement on civil and political rights, which was ratified by Czechoslovakia in 1975. Let me quote the text of Article 21: The right to peacefully assemble must be recognized; the exercise of this right must not be limited in any way, with the exception of such limitations which are set out by law and which are necessary in a democratic society to secure national security and public order and to safeguard the health and morality of the public and safeguard the rights and liberties of others. This is the international agrement on civil and political rights. As we can see, Article 21 determines not only the right but at the same time also limits the exercise of that right. Why? Because the obligation according to Article 21—which represents the international standard—is being carried out in states with very different social and political systems. The limiting measures must therefore reflect the different conditions and opportunities of every single state carrying out the international legal obligation.

[Announcer] And does our legal code substantially respect Article 21, if I am not mistaken?

[Kaloc] I am certain that our legal code is in compliance with this legal provision. We can also add that at the constituent session of the party and National Front commission for drafting the new constitution, this was openly emphasized in the words of the commission's chairman, Comrade Jakes, party general secretary. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Comrade Secretary, in the center of Prague violations of public order took place. The surprising thing is the number of people who came simply to have a look, in fact sensation-seekers. It is even estimated that about one-half of them are not from Prague. It is as if people are bored, as if they do not know how to find fulfillment. What is your opinion of this?

[Kisewetter] I think that in our city, in the National Front platform, its social organizations, and in our citizens interest groups, that there is enough room for people, and above all young people, to find fulfillment.

Immediately before these events took place there was a very popular event in our city's park of culture and rest: a nonstop rock concert where about 9-10,000 young people gathered. I must say that we did not note any disruptions there. The people who were listening to the rock music there did not have to be liked because of their dress, their behavior, or be liked by the more conservative part of the older population of Prague, and so on.

[Announcer] Comrade Secretary, you did not answer my question: whether the Prague organization of the National Front is capable of developing activities and initiative; whether it creates enough room for people to find fulfillment.

[Kisewetter] In my opinion there is room for this here. But yes, we in the social organizations and various interest groups of the National Front are also learning in this area about such activity. We have our problems in this direction, but I believe that this platform really does exist.

[Announcer] Comrade Kaloc, can you say why these actions are being organized precisely at this time?

[Kaloc] In our opinion there is a clear connection between the close of the Vienna follow-up meeting and the adoption of its final document and the timing of these illegal mass demonstrations in Prague. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Let us continue. Comrade Prosecutor, we often hear nowadays the term the so-called independent structure. What is hiding behind it?

[Krupauer] We can speak about people who want to become some kind of political opposition. We have, in fact, 20 years of experience with them. They are the people who are heading these informal, would-be-opposition, quasi-political structures. They lost the political capital and the public's trust that they once possessed, but now they want to find a way to return to political and public life. What is interesting about this is that Western propaganda, and also other circles, pay extra attention to this small group of people; they give them moral support, and also perhaps other forms of support. These people are trying today, in the period of democratization of life in society and the development of public information, to catch a free ride on this trend. However, in our society we naturally provide for the possibility of openly implementing varied views and interests, but always on the socialist platform, in the interest of further developing socialism. But these people openly oppose everything connected with the fundamental constitutional principles, and I would like to stress that the process of democratization, public information, and expanding participation by the public in events, does not change anything in the constitutional principles that are valid and whose amendment is not envisioned. We are and we remain a socialist state whose leading force is the CPCZ. It is the duty of the state organs to protect these constitutional principles and to consistently act against any actions aimed against them. What has been said—that nobody may be a parasite in restructuring; laws are valid for everyone; all those who break the law will bear the consequences—is fully valid for these events.

[Announcer] I have a comment on what the comrade prosecutor general said. It is interesting that in connection with the question of informal groups we are encountering the same people in most of these structures, although they are presented under various names. The key people are those who were there for the birth of the so-called Charter. In its 10 years of existence and in its approximately 340 documents, the Charter has not demonstrated anything positive which we could take as our point of departure for what the comrade prosecutor general is talking about here. Moreover, let us admit that they are not even sometimes willing to come to the platform on certain positive points. Let us take the example of the Association of Friends of the United States. True, we do not block the sympathies of our citizens for that large country. This association began operating, I think, in May 1987. However, in view of what it wrote in its founding documents, it was not registered by the Interior Ministry and it therefore declared itself a free association. It also rejected an offer to become active in the system of the Society for Foreign Relations, and it does not seem to mind at all the fact that it is an organization which is active in the Moravian region and that, despite this, it presents itself here in our capital.

Comrade Secretary, sales clerks are complaining that sales have fallen this week. People are complaining that they cannot come to do their shopping in the center of Prague or that they cannot simply go for a walk in Wenceslas Square. In this connection, some wonder whether it would not be possible to set aside for the people who cause disturbances in Wenceslas Square, people who wish to gather, some place somewhere outside the center. Are you considering this?

[Kisewetter] Comrade editor, first I would like to say that we have never shied away from dialogue; and here I do not simply speak as an official of the national committee of the capital city of Prague, but as a communist. At one time in Skroupovo Namesti [Square], despite the problematic nature of the whole event, we were sympathetic to demands for some kind of informal dialogue. However, it culminated in an antistate demonstration, a demonstration of the type about which the Prague public was informed. Therefore, we believe that similar actions will not be permitted either in Wenceslas Square or anywhere else. In harmony with what is contained in RUDE PRAVO's leading article today, we are not prepared to allow either the Republic or this city to be disrupted.

[Announcer] Our conversation is coming to a close. What can we say to conclude? Our socialist society, our political system, create great space for the broad democratic implementation of the pluralism of interests and the views of all social classes and interest and political groups of the workers. Socialist pluralism, however, does not mean—and has nothing in common with—the creation and functioning of antisocialist forces. This is because the power in this country belongs to the working man. A return to the conditions existing prior to February 1948 is thus completely out of the question.

Thank you for your visit to the studio, and you for your attention. Goodbye.

Prosecutor's Office Comments

LD2001202689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] The CSSR General Prosecutor's Office also took a stand on the events that have occurred this week in the center of Prague, especially in Wenceslas Square.

Its statement says that the demonstrations seek attention for antisocialist opposition movements, that they lead to disrupting public order and involving innocent bystanders in antisocialist actions, and in this way creating the illusion that the opposition structures enjoy the support of the wide public.

The General Prosecutor's Office states that it is possible to hold responsible all who participate in the demonstrations, which are not authorized. Organizers and initiators of the unauthorized demonstrations must face strict penal punishments. The activity of people who spread appeals to participate in demonstrations is also grave. Those who actively participate in demonstrations, and who do not obey appeals by the national security bodies to disperse, also will not avoid penal punishment. Passive participants who participate in a demonstration out of curiosity and who stay there in spite of appeals to disperse, are also liable to punishment.

Police Prevent Vsetaty March

AU2101170889 Paris AFP in English
1627 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Vsetaty, Czechoslovakia, Jan 21 (AFP)—Police on Saturday cordoned off this town north of Prague to prevent opposition groups from reaching its cemetery, where Jan Palach, who killed himself in protest 20 years ago, is buried.

The move came after police used violence for most of the week to prevent gatherings in front of the statue in central Prague of St. Wenceslas, the symbol of Czechoslovak independence that Mr. Palach chose as a site for his self-immolation.

A few foreign journalists were the only ones allowed to reach the cemetery where Mr. Palach is buried, only to find it locked. "Closed for technical reasons from 19/1 to 23/1," read a sign.

Jan Palach was living here while studying philosophy in Prague when he set himself on fire on January 16, 1969, to protest the Soviet intervention the previous year that ended the Prague Spring period of political liberalization.

He died three days later, and was buried at first in a large Prague cemetery. But the authorities, hoping to dim the attention his grave continued to attract, moved him in 1973 to his home town, 30 kilometers (20 miles) from Prague.

In addition to closing the cemetery and cordoning off the town, the government also arrested Tomas Hradilek, a spokesman for the human-rights monitoring group Charter 77, whose two other spokesmen are already under detention.

Mr. Hradilek was one of several well-known opponents who had called for a gathering at Mr. Palach's grave and were arrested.

Since Sunday, almost every attempt at a commemorative gathering in front of the statue of St. Wenceslas has been met by police truncheons and tear gas. Only on Wednesday was a meeting allowed there.

On Saturday in Prague, a large number of riot police were stationed around the statue on St. Wenceslas Square, ready to prevent any further gathering.

Further on Police Presence

LD2101175489 Hamburg DPA in German
1723 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Prague (DPA)—The silent march announced for Saturday to the grave of Jan Palach at Vsetaty, 45 km north of Prague, did not take place due to a massive presence of police. Czechoslovak forces of law and order sealed off the area and made it impossible for the participants to arrive there. [passage omitted]

The station at Vsetaty was closed, and trains passed through without stopping. Buses, on the other hand, were stopping for longer than usual, in order to be able to pick up those passengers who could not prove that they were local inhabitants. There were numerous police checks and barriers on access roads. Nevertheless, foreign journalists were allowed into Vsetaty. However, they could only establish that the gate to the cemetery was nailed and barred, and that a board had been erected which read "closed for technical reasons from 19 to 23 January." There was also a truck in front of the cemetery gate which was evidently ready to be used as an extra barricade to block off the cemetery if necessary.

State's Measures Noted

LD2101190289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Another provocative act was planned in Vsetaty in the Melnik region today. Stanislaw Benda has been there since this morning:

[Benda] At the Vsetaty urn grove there is also an urn that contains Jan Palach's remains. In the entire 20 years since his senseless and pointless death, almost nobody has taken note of it. As Josef Indra, chairman of the local national committee, says: Occasionally somebody lighted a candle there, as is customary. After all, he was young, and they just used him.

Yes, they used his death 20 years ago, and they are using it again, and it is even the same people doing it. Today they have invented another provocation—some kind of a pilgrimage to Palach's tomb.

Just as we do not like provocative acts in Wenceslas Square, Vsetaty residents feel the same about something similar here in this square or at the cemetery or at the urn grove. They are used to a peaceful life in their rural village. Anyway, I will let them speak:

[First unidentified person] I think that, as the death of Jan Palach was pointless 20 years ago when it incited hysteria, it is today similarly pointless.

[Second unidentified person] It will not bring peace to the village; there are disturbances among the people here. We all condemn it.

[Benda] That was also why the local national committee together with the national security forces took measures to ensure that this Saturday, too, there would be peace in Vsetaty. It is peaceful here now, at 1700 as I prepare to leave. And this has also been confirmed by members of the women's union who are about to finish decorating a sports hall for this evening's dance.

Weapons, Nazi Symbols Seen

LD2101203889 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] [Announcer] Up to now the village of Vsetaty, with its 2,000 inhabitants, in the Melnik area, was only known due to the wonderful variety of Vsetana onion that is grown here. Only now there has been more talk of Vsetaty, but in connection with something that is completely different.

Those leading the organization of various street demonstrations in Prague did not forget to recall that it is in Vsetaty that student Jan Palach is buried, so they decided to misuse this fact to organize some kind of pilgrimage to his grave. This announcement, which was accompanied by a contribution from [Radio] Free Europe, was an invitation to some people to plan a trip to Vsetaty today. This morning we spoke to some local inhabitants.

[Begin recording] [First unidentified person] We are not at all happy about this. It has been dragging on now for almost a week—from Wenceslas Square to right here.

[Second unidentified person] Who are they? What kind of people are they? Where do they work? What do they live on? Who gives them the money for such actions? [end recording]

[Announcer] Among those who wanted to be seen in Vsetaty were also people like this:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Do you usually take things like this with you on a day trip?

[Third unidentified person] No, not usually.

[Correspondent] And so you brought this with you to Vsetaty today. Do you know what this symbol means?

[Third person] It is a symbol of the German Reich.

[Correspondent] And the bayonet?

[Third person] I have a bayonet.

[Correspondent] Do you think it is usual to take such things with you on a trip?

[Third person] No, it is not.

[Correspondent] Then why have you got it?

[Third person] I wanted to show it.

[Correspondent] To whom?

[Third person] To my relatives.

[Corespondent] Here on these lists are instructions for the manufacture of explosives. Do you also take these with you as a rule?

[Third person] No.

[Correspondent] So then why do you have them with you?

[Third person] To show them. Everything is so that I can show them. [end recording]

[Announcer] And one final note: Foreign reporters from Western countries were leaving the site of the planned action clearly disappointed. You see, there was no exceptional event in Vsetaty today.

March on Prague Castle Blocked

LD2201133789 Hamburg DPA in German 1245 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Excerpt] Prague (DPA)—On Sunday CSSR security forces thwarted a protest march by demonstrators to Prague Castle. A large blockade of the Mala Strana area of the city below the castle (Hradcany) and of all access roads to the castle and Loretanske Square foiled the demonstration. The Foreign Ministry is also located there.

Hundreds of uniformed and plainclothes policemen controlled everyone and permitted no one to pass any further. A German television (ARD) team was stopped as it tried to reach the castle. A high-ranking police officer kept the team from entering the area and banned it from filming anything. A police team filmed the efforts against the team. [passage omitted]

Archbishop Condemns Police

LD2201163789 Hamburg DPA in German 1543 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Prague (DPA)—Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, the archbishop of Prague, condemned on Sunday the police operation against demonstrators in Prague. Tomasek told German television (ARD) that he had written a letter to CSSR Prime Minister Ladislav Adamec in which, on the one hand, he welcomed the CSSR's signature on the Vienna CSCE conference agreements, but in which he also sharply protested the police actions. The statement was broadcast tonight by Tagesschau [a news program].

Charter 77 Demands Noted

AU2301143789 Paris AFP in English 1411 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Prague, Jan 23 (AFP)—The Charter 77 human rights group on Monday demanded the sacking of all those responsible for police "brutality" during last week's demonstrations here, starting with Interior Minister Frantiesek Kincl, and Prague's Police Chief General Bohumil Carda.

Charter 77, Czechoslovakia's main opposition group, also appealed to authorities to release all those arrested during the protests, open "a dialogue" with dissidents and allow independent groups to become legal organizations.

In its statement Charter 77 condemned the police action as "brutal and irresponsible" and called for all officials involved to be dismissed and replaced by officials willing to open dialogue. [passage omitted]

Charter 77 maintained the protests were "peaceful" and the "brutality" of police action to disperse them "absolutely unjustified and intentional".

While the opposition sought "dialogue and compromise", the "power of the state" reacted repeatedly with "violence", the group said.

The statement called for the "immediate release of all people arrested" and for charges against them to be cancelled. Authorities should open "a real discussion" and allow "legalisation of independent groups and news magazines".

Charter 77 said it was "ready to appoint representatives for constructive, round-table (talks) on television with representatives of the state".

Commentary Views Prague Protests, Unrest

AU2001134489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Jan 89 p 2

[Jaroslav Kojzar commentary: "The KURIER Gentlemen's Hate-Filled Spittle"]

[Excerpts] I was born in Prague and I still live here. Like hundreds of thousands of the other people of Prague, I find it one of the most beautiful cities on earth, in defiance of difficulties of one sort or another. [passage omitted] We are all proud of our subway stations, of the pedestrian zone, of the renewed splendor of Old Town Square. [passage omitted]

However, there are people among us whom our pride does not tell a thing, people who are willing to damage their homeland for money, regardless of where it comes from; people who are ready to write pamphlets and to drive hundreds of inexperienced young people into imaginary adventures only to reap the applause of someone abroad. And applause—that means money again: thousands of Tuzex vouchers, dollars, marks, and pounds.

As was the case 20 years ago, these people are therefore again trying to stir up tension and disrupt the implementation of the tasks of restructuring. This was the case also on Monday and Tuesday [16 and 17 January]. Provocative acts organized for the cameras of Western television companies prevented thousands of working people who were returning from work via Wenceslas Square and the adjoining streets from arriving home on time.

The aim was thus clear: to supply slanderers with anti-Czechoslovak ammunition. Yes, they did manage to supply it. Life goes on, however, and the capital's rhythm carries on in its usual way. Only the bourgeois press again has something to write about, something to fabricate and distort. In its Monday [16 January] issue, the Austrian daily KURIER went so far as to proclaim the slogan: "Better dead than to live in Prague!"

The hate-filled spittle of the gentlemen from the KURIER only demonstrates what they are aiming at. The well-timed warning [against a repetition of Jan Palach's suicide by self-immolation] by means of which the dissidents wanted to create publicity for themselves, suddenly fits into the clockwork like another cog.

"Better dead than to live in Prague!" Really? Life is a beautiful thing, and every year a growing number of tourists admire Prague. Millions of Czechoslovak citizens, too, are proud of the history and greatness of the country's capital. The manipulated blusterers striving to disrupt peace and order according to a masterplan thought out somewhere far beyond our borders cannot have the least impact on this.

Paper Receives Threats on Demonstration
LD2101103989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0830 GMT 21 Jan 89

[From the "Press Review"]

[Text] Under the title "They Threaten, They Threaten," RUDE PRAVO drew attention to the background of the provocative events in Wenceslas Square in Prague. RUDE PRAVO says that on Friday [20 January] its editorial board received scores of anonymous telephone threats. These were also received over emergency number 158 and were addressed to Prague security. They said that if free rein for the antistate demonstration in Wenceslas Square on Friday were not permitted, then they would start shooting.

RUDE PRAVO also said that some honest citizens who condemned the rioters and demanded peace and order for their work became the target of anonymous threats. RUDE PRAVO stressed that one can only reply to these threats, yet again, that we will not permit the Republic to be disrupted. Those who threaten even physical violence against their fellow citizens will meet not only with contempt, but also with the appropriate response, RUDE PRAVO said in conclusion.

Former Foreign Minister Denied Exit Visa
LD2001115289 Hamburg DPA in German 1519 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Bonn, 19 Jan (DPA)—Former Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Hajek has not received an exit permit from the Prague government to visit Bonn. Hajek, who was foreign minister in Alexander Dubcek's government during the "Prague Spring," has been invited by Richard von Weizsaecker, Federal president, to the dinner marking Willy Brandt's 75th birthday. Von Weizsaecker is hosting this dinner tomorrow in the Villa Hammerschmidt for leading politicians from numerous countries.

Friedbert Pflueger, the Federal president's spokesman, described as incomprehensible the refusal to grant an exit permit. It is exceptionally regrettable that Hajek is being prevented from accepting this personal invitation from the Federal president.

CPCZ Presidium Discusses 'Internal Policy'
LD2001182589 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium at today's session discussed a number of questions concerning internal policy, including the situation that has been created in Prague in connection with attempts at antistate demonstrations.

It praised the attitude of Communists, members of other political parties, and nonparty citizens in the effort to safeguard peace and order. It also expressed support for the forces of order and the people's militia, and praised their political awareness and high discipline.

It pointed out, in this context, the great significance of the advancement of political work among the broadest sections of the population and especially among our youth.

It stressed that there was a need to view the provocative actions as part of the efforts by subversive forces at home, as well as abroad, aimed against the socialist state, its domestic and foreign policy, and against social restructuring. The Presidium decisively refused the attempts to destablize our society, and it fully supported the measures being adopted by state and party organs to safeguard order, in compliance with the Constituiton and the law of our country, which apply to all citizens indiscriminately.

The party Central Committee Presidium acquainted itself with information on the situation among our youth during the process of restructuring in the conditions of the Prague party organization. It also recommended to communists in the federal government that they consider some proposals concerning the solution, especially regarding the drafting of the program of state care for children and youth. It asked Communists in the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front to prepare, together with Communists in the appropriate bodies of the capital of Prague, the measure for widening possibilities for young people in Prague to use their free time usefully.

The Presidium approved the composition of the Commission for the Organizational and Technical Preparation of the 18th CPCZ Congress led by Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the party Central Committee.

The Presidium decided to abolish one of the national economic departments of the party Central Committee, the tasks of which have been assumed by the newly renamed Social and Economic Department [socialne-ekonomicke oddeleni] and the Department of Party Work in Industry, Transport, Construction, and Trade.

The Presidium evaluated the performance of the CPCZ Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. It praised the approaches of the institute employees toward the tasks aimed at improving the quality of the institute's work. The higher efficiency of the institute's work is bound to the closer link with the social practice and the party policy, especially in the form of the preferential development of creative work in the field of Marxist-Leninist theory. The research efforts of the institute's employees will be aimed at resolving questions of the further building of our socialist society in the conditions

of restructuring. Special attention should be devoted in the forthcoming period to the works concerning the elaboration of the party program and the preparation of other documents.

The party Central Committee Presidium acquainted itself with the results of the checks concerning 308 selected investment actions of the Eighth 5-Year Plan and praised the complex of measures adopted in connection with last December's checks by the federal government.

It stated that besides "Action Z" [voluntary brigade work by citizens on selected projects], there were presently in Czechoslovakia approximately 22,000 construction projects in progress. It supported the decision that central organs of investors would check by May all newly beginning construction projects with budget costs exceeding Kcs50 million—with the exception of obligatory and centralized ones—from the point of view of the changes that are being prepared and criteria being given. It is believed it is useful to make another check of 50 selected construction projects now under way which are not large ones.

The Presidium adopted the principles of the more simple party protocol and the method of publishing news of the protocol character concerning activities of the party organs. It recommended that state and social organs also adopt a similar measure.

It discussed the principles of the stand of the Czechoslovak delegation to the 130th session of the CEMA Executive Committee, which will take place in Moscow on 23 January.

The Presidium acknowledged the information about the official friendly visit by 'Ali Salim al-Bid, general secretary of the Yemeni Socialist Party, and approved the results of the talks, the realization of which will further deepen cooperation between our parties and countries.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium noted information about the results of the talks between Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, in Czechoslovakia on 13 and 15 January with Comrade Jan Fojtik. It praised the open exchange of views in these meetings and expressed support for [illegible] further development of cooperation between both parties and countries.

Party Presidium Examines Legal Reforms

LD1301162689 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Today the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed at its session the course and the results of the official friendly visit by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, to Cuba and Nicaragua. It discussed the main tasks of CPCZ Central Committee bodies before the 18th CPCZ Congress and the agenda of the Presidium and Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee for the 1st half of 1989. By tackling these tasks the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress will be implemented this year and during the entire period of preparations for the congress and in all spheres of social life. Emphasis is placed on achieving the aims of party economic and social policy, in particular on fulfilling the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year Plan; and also on achieving significant progress in intensifying the economy, in implementing the new economic mechanism, in better applying scientific and technical discoveries, and in attaining more intense participation in socialist economic integration.

Attention is also concentrated on developing the internal life of the party and on reinforcing its leading role in society, in the development of socialist democracy, and on the all-around activation of the National Front. It adopted a resolution at the same time on the preparation of two future regular sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, the agenda of which would include the development of the Czechoslovak education system and a checkup of the implementation of resolutions concerning the development of the machine-building sector and of scientific and technical progress.

It also acquainted itself with the 1989 plan of the CPCZ Central Control and Audit Commission.

It acknowledged a report assessing the detection and investigation of criminal activity. It noted that in spite of an overall improvement in preparatory criminal proceedings and the results achieved in the activity of investigatory staffs, there are still many shortcomings and problems in its work. It emphasized that the effort to deepen socialist democracy demands an improvement in the quality of the activity of bodies that are active in criminal prevention work.

It discussed the proposed measures for improving the quality of Czechoslovak justice. The aim of the proposed measures is to comprehensively improve the quality of court proceedings and decisionmaking in the interests of thoroughly protecting the rights of citizens and organizations on the one hand, and on the other, fulfilling their duties. Their goal is also to enhance the role of the courts in the system of socialist democracy, and to further reinforce guarantees of the application of the basic principles of socialist justice, such as the flow of information to the public, the independence of judges and their subordination solely to the law, the reinforcement of the principle of making court proceedings public, and the full utilization of the democratic forms of people's participation in decisionmaking and the other activities of courts.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium acknowledged the information on the convocation and contents of the seventh plenary session of the Central Council of Trade

Unions, which on 2 February will discuss the tasks of ideological educational and cultural work in the conditions of social restructuring. It discussed and approved the principles for the participation of CPCZ Central Committee delegations in statewide and republican congresses and conferences of National Front organizations.

Delegations will be sent only to the congresses of the largest social organizations. Instead of greetings addresses, there will be broader use made of CPCZ Central Committee letters addressed to the delegates to the congresses. It also acknowledged the report of the CPCZ Central Committee delegations on their participation in the 12th Congress of the Portuguese Communist Party and the Ninth DKP Congress.

State Bank Director Comments on Insolvencies

AU1301191889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Jan 89 p 1

[Pavel Paral report: "Consolidation Programs; News Conference at the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondent)—On the basis of an inspection carried out in 134 organizations showing a high level of long-term insolvency, 38 enterprises have been selected to have consolidation programs worked out and introduced. The aim of these consolidation programs is the restoration of financial equilibrium by the end of the Eighth 5-Year Plan. As Jan Mitro, general director of the Czechoslovak State Bank, said at a news conference held at the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium on Monday [9 January], the organizations selected are insolvent to the tune of almost Kcs15 billion, which represents more than 40 percent of the total level of insolvency in the CSSR.

The CSSR Government has ordered consolidation programs to be introduced in the following enterprises: the AZNP [Automobile Works National Enterprise]; the Mlada Boleslav state enterprise; the Skoda Plzen state enterprise; the Vitkovice concern enterprise; the High-Voltage Electrical Engineering Plants Prague state enterprise; the Tatra Koprivnice state enterprise; the ZTS [Heavy Engineering Plants] Martin state enterprise; the CKD Prague state enterprise; the Kovosmalt Filakovo national enterprise; the ZVT [Computer Technology Plants] Banska Bystrica concern enterprise; the Tesla Strasnice concern enterprise; the Tesla Bratislava concern enterprise; the SNP [Slovak National Uprising] Works Ziar nad Hronom national enterprise; the Elitex Chrastava concern enterprise; the Elitex Usti nad Orlici concern enterprise; the Zetor Brno concern enterprise; the Zbrojovka Vsetin national enterprise; the ZVS [General Engineering Plants] Dubnica nad Vahom concern enterprise; the Meopta Prerov concern enterprise; the TOS [Machine Tool Factories] Hostivar concern enterprise; the TOS Hulin concern enterprise; the Piesok Engineering Works national enterprise; the LIAZ [Liberec Automobile Works] Jablonec nad Nisou state enterprise; the Avia Prague state enterprise; the Spolana Neratovice concern enterprise; the Mosilana Brno national enterprise; the Triola Prague state enterprise; the Kavalier Glass Works Sazava state enterprise; the Usti nad Labem Civil Engineering Works concern enterprise; the Brno Industrial Engineering Works national enterprise; the Plzen Civil Engineering Works state enterprise; the Prefa Olomouc state enterprise; the Brno Civil Engineering Works state enterprise; the Usti nad Labem Hydraulic Engineering Works concern enterprise; the Liberec Civil Engineering Works concern enterprise; the North Bohemian Konstruktiva Usti nad Labem concern enterprise; the Central Slovak Glass Works Poltar national enterprise; and the Construction Engineering Works Bratislava state enterprise.

For all the aforesaid enterprises, insolvency represents an obstacle of principle in the transition toward self-financing. The formulation of consolidation programs and their implementation therefore must not be the concern of just the assistant directors for economic affairs. The entire management and the labor collectives must participate in resolving the financial situation of their enterprise. They all will be intent on preserving their income. After all, an enterprise that is unable to pay off its debts will also be unable to appropriate the full amount for its special compensation fund.

Insolvency is not a new problem in our economy; it has existed for a number of years. However, its overall volume has drastically increased in recent years. Whereas in 1980 the insolvency of Czechoslovak enterprises represented a sum of Kcs3 billion, last year it was in the range of Kcs45 billion.

This situation has been caused chiefly by inordinate inventories that are not financially covered. In the first 3 quarters of 1988 the level of inventories increased by Kcs23.7 billion, whereas the plan anticipated a Kcs12.6 billion decline in their level. This demonstrates that organizations and their superior agencies have not been consistent in tackling tasks with respect to inventories. In view of the fact that the bank does not provide credits for inventories accumulated in excess of the plan, it must be reckoned that insolvency will follow enterprises into this year. In addition to subjective causes, the excessive level of inventories is also accounted for by measures taken by central agencies. This is why individual ministries must also play an active part in drafting the consolidation programs.

The primary causes of insolvencies also include irregularity of production, investment undertakings that are not covered by financial resources, and the inadequate generation of resources in enterprises due to low production efficiency.

The fact that many enterprises are unable to pay their suppliers gives rise to secondary insolvencies, which represent about one-third of the entire volume. Although the bank is trying to help these enterprises by providing credits and set-offs, such improvements [in their financial situation] are always short-lived.

The disrupted ability of enterprises to pay their bills also signals disruptions in the circulation of enterprise assets, which results in the separation of material processes in production from value processes. This not only upsets the monetary balance and a smooth operation of the economy, but it also limits and weakens the impact of economic instruments. The solution of problems in this area is unthinkable without a principled clarification of production programs in enterprises, without focusing on production quality, and without a marked improvement in internal enterprise management. Another basic condition that must be met for enterprises not to live at the expense of others is harmony between the production plan, the sales plan, and the material allocations plan.

Speaking at the close of the news conference, Miroslav Pavel, head of the press section at the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium, briefed journalists on the approval of foreign exchange normative rates [devizove normativy] for this year. The normative rates have been fixed in a differentiated manner, making use of the experiences of experimenting organizations. The rules governing the use of foreign exchange resources by these organizations have, however, been retained in the form in which they are spelled out in the approved rules for the experiment.

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 12 January on page 2 carries a 600-word interview with Eng Vlastimil Svec, an official of the Czechoslovak State Bank, on the nature of the "consolidation programs" to be worked out in 38 Czechoslovak industrial enterprises. Speaking about the reasons for the insolvency of these enterprises, Svec essentially reiterates the reasons that are set out in the above article. However, he also mentions an additional factor—"unsuitable production programs as a result of international commitments." In this connection he cites the example of Skoda Plzen, a manufacturer of nuclear reactors, whose difficulties have reportedly been caused by the fact that "the CEMA countries have slowed down their nuclear program." Speaking about the consolidation programs, Svec also mentions that if the measures proposed under these programs "guarantee an improvement in the financial situation," the state bank will provide "consolidation credits" to finance them. These credits will have to be repayed within 3 years and, in view of their "risky nature," will carry an interest rate of 12 percent.]

Honecker Congratulates Bush on Inauguration

LD2001183489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1815 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, has sent U.S. President George Bush a telegram of congratulations. In the telegram Erich Honecker expresses his conviction that the continuation of political dialogue and the development of mutually advantageous relations, on the basis of equal rights, between the GDR and the United States, using the foundation of the principles of peaceful coexistence, are in the interests of both the securing of world peace and the well-being of the peoples of the two states. "Please accept my wishes for health and personal well-being," said the telegram.

Honecker, Stoph in Thuringia for New Year Hunt

LD1301204189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1522 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Excerpt] Erfurt (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, invited the diplomatic corps for the traditional New Year hunt in the Thuringian Area of Erfurt today. On their arrival at Erfurt station yesterday evening, Erich Honecker, Council of Ministers Chairman Willi Stoph, other members of the party and state leadership, ambassadors, charges d'affaires, and representatives of national liberation movements were warmly welcomed by thousands of Erfurt residents.

During a dinner after the hunt and the visiting program, which was hosted at the "Erfurter Hof" by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, he thanked all those who had contributed to the successful outcome of the day. In his toast he referred to the century-old values, intellectual currents, and historical events which, emanating from Thuringia, have substantially influenced the culture and history of the German people. [passage omitted]

Fischer on Outcome of Vienna CSCE Meeting

LD2001163689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1519 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—After his return from the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting, GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer gave the following statement in response to journalists' questions:

At the foreign ministers' meeting of the CSCE states in Vienna there was agreement that the results of the Vienna meeting will further strengthen the process of security and cooperation in Europe. Particular importance is to be attached to the negotiations on conventional disarmament and the continuation of the conference begun in Stockholm on confidence-building measures and security. The purpose is to achieve concrete results. These are in the interests of all peoples.

The Vienna negotiations, despite some of the speeches made at the concluding meeting that were not in this spirit, will undoubtedly improve the European climate. The foundation for this remains the right of each state, anchored both in the Helsinki Final Act and the Vienna document, to freely elect its political order, its laws, regulations, policies, and practical implementation. The GDR will fulfill what has been agreed upon in Vienna within the framework of its national legislation.

The GDR has helped to shape the CSCE process in this way right from the start. As a result of its policy of dialogue and readiness for understanding, it has made a decisive contribution to the succesful conclusion of the Vienna meeting. It will continue to do everything possible to ensure that peace, security, and equal cooperation for the benefit of all people become the decisive factor of the European situation.

Hager, Delegation Attend Spanish Party Congress

Greeted on Arrival

LD1301153789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1410 GMT 13 Jan 89

[Text] Madrid (ADN)—An SED Central Central Committee delegation led by Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, arrived in Madrid on Friday to take part in the unification congress of the Spanish Communists. The delegation was warmly welcomed at the airport by Francisco Romero Marin and Simon Sanchez Montero, members of the Spanish Communist Party [PCE] Secretariat.

The congress of unification between the PCE and a majority of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain [PCPE] meets in the Spanish capital tomorrow.

Meets Communist Party Leader

LD1601213089 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1437 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Madrid (ADN)—An exchange of views on the international development and the policy of the Spanish Communist Party and the SED was conducted by Julio Anguita, Spanish Communist Party general secretary, and Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, in Madrid on Monday. They agreed that thanks to the efforts of the socialist states, broad world public opinion, as well as the realism of politicians in Western countries, encouraging results have been achieved in reducing confrontation. At the same time it cannot be overlooked that the opponents of disarmament and detente are countering a change

toward an improvement in international relations. Therefore, all those forces interested in preserving peace should not let up in their efforts to further promote the incipient disarmament process.

Hager and Anguita expressed the resolve of their parties to actively promote the cooperation of Communists with all forces interested in peace, beyond existing political and ideological differences.

Proceeding from the successful conclusion of the Unity Party Congress, Julio Anguita explained the main guidelines of the Spanish Communists for safeguarding the social and national interests of the working class and all the working people of Spain, as well as working out alternatives on social development.

The two sides praised the traditions and the high state of the trusting relations existing between the two parties. They affirmed their resolve to deepen them further.

Confers With PSOE Official

LD1701210789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1820 GMT 17 Jan 89

[text] Madrid (ADN)—Kurt Hager, member of the SED Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, had a meeting today in Madrid with Jose Maria Benegas, member of the Executive Committee of the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE).

During the friendly exchange of views, the two officials expressed their high regard for the long-standing relations between the SED and the PSOE. They were a firm component of the fruitful cooperation between the GDR and Spain. An important new impetus for this came from the official visit to Spain in October 1988 by Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR Council of State.

The interlocutors unanimously stated that significant changes could be set in motion in international relations, which could strengthen the peoples' hopes for a world without war and violence. The two officials stressed that in this responsible phase of international relations, special attention to constructive political dialogue is necessary, as well as the strengthening of cooperation, which is advantageous for all states.

Greater cooperation between Communists and Social Democrats shows practical ways of how joint responsibility for peace can be perceived, overcoming political differences and ideological conflicts. The representatives of the SED and the PSOE stressed the significance of the further development of relations between the two parties.

Jose Maria Benegas outlined the present situation in Spain. Kurt Hager spoke about the further implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress, especially in the sphere of economic and social policy.

Hager Meets Dolores Ibarruri

AU1901150089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] Madrid (ADN)—On Monday [16 January], PCE President Dolores Ibarruri, whose honorary name La Pasionaria has gone down in history as a symbol of the heroic struggle of the Spanish people against fascism, received the former fighters in the Spanish Civil War Sabina and Kurt Hager as well as GDR Ambassador Harry Spindler for a friendly talk in her apartment in Madrid. Kurt Hager conveyed to her cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and of all GDR Communists. Dolores Ibarruri recalled the International Brigades fighting together with the Spanish people and paid tribute to the fraternal relations between the PCE and the SED.

Delegation Departs for Home

AU2001183389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] Madrid (ADN)— Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, met with Jose Bono (Spanish Socialist Worker's Party), president of the Castile-La Mancha Regional Government, in Toledo on Wednesday [18 January]. Both politicians advocated the development of cooperation between the GDR and Spain on a regional level. The regional president paid tribute to the role of the German fighters in the International Brigade in the Spanish struggle for freedom.

In a cordial talk, Pedro Pablo Novillo, first secretary of the PCE regional leadership, explained the Communists' topical objectives in Castile-La Mancha.

Before that, Kurt Hager visited Aranjuez, where he had worked for some time during the Spanish Civil War as the director of the foreign programs of the radio station "Voice of Republican Spain." The guest from the GDR was accompanied by Ignacio Gallego and Francisco Romero Marin, members of the PCE leadership. Kurt Hager and Ignacio Gallego worked together as youth functionaries 52 years ago.

In the evening, the SED delegation, which was headed by Kurt Hager and had participated in the Spanish Communists' unification congress, left Madrid for home.

Central Committee Greetings to Spanish Congress

AU1701142689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14-15 Jan 89 p 2

[ND report: "Greetings From the SED to the Spanish Communists Unification Congress; Central Committee Wishes Much Success to Today's Deliberations in Madrid"]

[Text] Berlin (ND)—The SED Central Committee has addressed the following greetings message to the Spanish Communists' unification congress which meets today, Saturday, in Madrid:

Dear Comrades,

The SED Central Committee conveys the GDR Communists' fraternal militant greetings to the delegates to the Spanish Communists' unification congress.

With great respect and joy, we take an interest in the historical event of the reestablishment of the Spanish Communists' unity in the glorious Spanish Communist Party [PCE], the party of Jose Diaz and Dolores Ibarruri. We most cordially congratulate you on this step which is important for the Spanish working people and the communist movement.

For decades, our parties have been linked by joint antifascist militant traditions. Shoulder to shoulder, German and Spanish Communists stood in the trenches in front of Madrid to defend the Spanish republic. Today, the SED and the PCE, together with the peace forces all over the world, use all their power to free mankind from the deadly danger of a nuclear war.

We know that we share the view that increased efforts are necessary to make the initiated disarmament process permanent and irreversible and to strengthen the achieved positive tendencies in the international situation. Our joint ideal is a world without nuclear weapons, wars, and violence, a world that is not determined by confrontation and exploitation, but by cooperation and the peoples' progress.

In the struggle for disarmament, security, and detente, our party and our state are aware of their special responsibility at the heart of Europe on the dividing line of the two social systems and military blocs.

We have always been guided by the principle that the strengthening of peace is inseparably linked with the strengthening of socialism and its influence. Here continuity and innovation will also characterize our future course. We ensure our country's further stable and dynamic development for the people's benefit by the course resolved by the 11th SED Congress.

We are convinced that the reestablishment of the Spanish Communists' unity will give new impetus to their struggle for the workers class' and all Spanish working people's social and national interests. We wish your unification congress much success and assure the PCE of our fraternal solidarity.

With communist greetings, SED Central Committee; E. Honecker, general secretary

State Planning Chairman Visits Cuba, Nicaragua

Meets Cuban Counterpart 15 Jan

AU1901145489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 17 Jan 89 p 5

[Text] Havana (ADN)—Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, met with Antonio Rodriguez Maurell, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Central Planning Board of the Republic of Cuba, in Havana on Sunday [15 January]. Gerhard Schuerer is heading the GDR delegation that is attending the 43d meeting of the CEMA Planning Committee, convening on Monday and Tuesday [16-17 January] in the Cuban capital.

Gerhard Schuerer and Antonio Rodriguez Maurell stated that economic and scientific-technological cooperation, on the basis of the fundamental agreements reached between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Cuban Councils of State and Ministers, is developing to the mutual advantage of both states. The two sides stressed the significance of opening cooperation in the production of electronic components, of starting the delivery of Cuban equipment for the reconstruction of the GDR's sugar industry, and of opening scientific cooperation in the field of biotechnology for the future development of economic relations between the two countries.

In the course of the meeting, the officials exchanged views on the start of the drafting of the 5-year plans for the development of the national economies for the 1991-95 period and discussed the approach to plan coordination for this period.

Gerhard Schuerer briefed the Cuban official on the seventh SED Central Committee session and the start of the plan this year, which assumes particular importance because of the preparations for the 12th SED Congress. He pointed out that the economic development is characterized by dynamism and stability, growing efficiency and quality. The efforts are aimed at significantly increasing labor productivity and at achieving an increase in the national income in order to ensure and raise the people's standard of living. Antonio Rodriguez Maurell reported on Cuba's experiences in perfecting the socialist planned economy after the Third Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba and the working people's intensive efforts to ensure stable economic development.

Cuba's Castro Receives Schuerer

AU1901164589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] Havana (ADN)—At a reception of the Cuban party and state leadership on the occasion of the 43d session of the CEMA Planning Committee in Havana, a friendly meeting between Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Cuban Councils of State and Ministers, and Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, took place on Monday evening [16 January].

Gerhard Schuerer conveyed most cordial greetings from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, which were equally returned by Fidel Castro.

Gerhard Schuerer pointed out the positive echo of Fidel Castro's speeches on the 30th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution among the GDR's working people. In this context, he stressed the basic agreement between the two parties in ideological positions concerning the building of socialism and the struggle for peace, disarmament, and detente.

Fidel Castro paid tribute to the high level of political, economic, scientific-technological, and cultural relations between Cuba and the GDR, which form a solid basis for further developing the relations between the two parties, peoples, and states.

Both officials agreed on further deepening these relations. The partners in the talk exchanged opinions on concrete cooperation, especially in the economic sector, on the basis of existing agreements and with a view to the period from 1991 to 1995.

Schuerer Meets Cuba's Rodriguez

AU2001102489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Jan 89 p 6

[Excerpts] Havana (ADN)—The 43d session of the CEMA Planning Committee in Havana was concluded with the signing of a protocol. [passage omitted]

The GDR delegation was headed by Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Commission. The delegation head met with Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, deputy chairman of the Cuban Councils of State and Ministers and member of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, for a friendly talk.

On behalf of the delegation heads, Gerhard Schuerer expressed thanks for the attention given the session. He stressed the importance of the fact that the CEMA countries are cooperating equally and independently and that for them the principle of mutual trust is a determining aspect. On behalf of the delegation heads, he reported on the results of the session of the CEMA Planning Committee. [passage omitted]

Meets Ortega in Managua

LD2001141589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0743 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Managua (ADN)—Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega has stressed the wide-ranging contacts between Nicaragua and the GDR at all levels as very important for the further shaping of the trusting cooperation between the two parties, states, and peoples. In a talk with Gerhard Schuerer, GDR deputy premier, chairman of the State Planning Commission, and candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, in Managua on Thursday evening, the coordinator of the Executive Commission of the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] National Directorate described his visit as an expression of the good state of fraternal relations between the FSLN and SED, and of the firm friendship between the GDR and Nicaragua.

Ortega underlined the deeply felt gratitude of his people for the GDR's comprehensive and active aid, which was again proved after October's hurricane catastrophe. Particularly against the background of the very complicated economic situation, the Nicaraguan working people regard this continuous support as an important encouragement in their difficult struggle. Schuerer praised the selfless struggle of the people of Sandino in the defense of their revolutionary achievements and the constructive work of the FSLN for lasting peace in Nicaragua and throughout Central America on the basis of the Guatemala Agreement.

Referring to the international situation, the two officials noted that a change toward detente and disarmament is emerging. They underlined in this connection the importance of the comprehensive peace and disarmament proposals of the USSR and the other socialist states, and the policy of the nonaligned states, which is aimed at detente.

Gerhard Schuerer, who handed over a personal message from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, arrived for an official visit in Managua on Thursday at the invitation of the FSLN National Directorate and the Nicaraguan Government.

Schuerer Ends Visit to Nicaragua

LD2201040089 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2237 Gmt 21 Jan 89

[Text] Managua (ADN)—Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the Executive Commission of the FSLN [Sandinist National Liberation Front] and president of Nicaragua, has met Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, chairman of the GDR State Planning Commission, and candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, for a further intensive and friendly exchange of views. Daniel Ortega affirmed the gratitude of his people for the effective and continuing GDR aid and handed over a personal message for Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State.

During his official visit to Nicaragua, Gerhard Schuerer held cordial talks with leading representatives of the FSLN and the government. Starting with the existing level of relations, he discussed possibilities for further deepening bilateral cooperation with members of the FSLN national leadership Luis Carrion, minister for industry and commerce; Jaime Wheelock, minister of

agricultural-livestock development and agrarian reform; and Henry Ruiz, minister of foreign cooperation. Included in this among other things was cooperation concerning small projects in the textile industry and agriculture that are capable of quickly going into operation.

Gerhard Schuerer spoke, among other things, of the GDR's experiences in constructing the socialist planned economy. There were further meetings with the vice president, Dr Sergio Ramirez, and with Alejandro Martinez Cuenca, minister for planning and budget, who reported on the great efforts in Nicaragua, with the help of the leadership and of economic planning, to use available reserves even under very complicated conditions in order to stabilize the population's living conditions.

Schuerer's further activities included a visit to the Texnicsa textile factory in the company of Luis Carrion and Henry Ruiz. The GDR has taken over the complete equipping of a new part of this plant with air conditioning and cooling plants.

Gerhard Schuerer ended his visit to Nicaragua on Saturday afternoon. The guest and his entourage were cordially seen off by Henry Ruiz and Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto at the Augusto Cesar Sandino International Airport.

SED's Sieber Meets Raul Castro in Havana

LD2201102289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0752 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Havana (ADN)—The completion of socialist construction in the GDR and Cuba is an important contribution to the strengthening of the power and image of socialism in the world. This was stressed at the conclusion of foreign policy consultations between the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and the Cuban Communist Party on Saturday in Havana. Raul Castro, second secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, received Guenter Sieber, SED Central Committee member and director of the International Relations Department of the SED Central Committee, for talks.

The officials conducted an exchange of views on current international issues as well as the further development of cooperation between the SED and the Cuban Communist Party. In view of the multiplicity of developments in the socialist world, the trusting exchange of experiences is acquiring ever greater significance, they stressed.

Prior to this, Guenter Sieber and Lionel Soto, secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee, coordinated the plan for cooperation between the SED and the Cuban Communist Party for 1989.

Herrmann Speaks at Militant Demonstration

AU1701152889 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 16 January on page 3, under the headline "In Their Spirit We Are Implementing a Truly Revolutionary Program in the GDR," carries the 1,500-word speech given by Politburo member Joachim Herrmann at the Berlin-Friedrichsfelde Socialist Memorial on 15 January.

Herrmann pays tribute to the lives of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, two of the founders of the KPD, who who were killed on 15 January 1919, and denounces the killings. He stresses that, even though "the counterrevolution was able to deprive the young party of its leaders, it was not able to stop the course of history."

Concerning international relations, Herrmann says: "While positive changes are taking place in international relations and a change from confrontation toward detente is under way, we do not overlook the advances of those who are resisting this process. We are standing at the side of all those who demand that nuclear disarmament, which was initiated with the treaty on the elimination of the intermediate-range missiles, be continued without a pause.

"The Warsaw Pact states have presented specific proposals on this. They support the unilateral disarmament steps of the Soviet Union, which were announced by Mikhail Gorbachev at the United Nations in December. The peoples expect NATO to now work on serious steps for arms limitation and disarmament, instead of on plans for the maintenance of nuclear deterrence. There must not be a new round of the arms race because of the 'modernization' of short-range nuclear weapons, and the weapons that have to be destroyed as a result of the INF Treaty must not be compensated for."

Human Rights Activists Arrested in Leipzig

LD1901121889 Hamburg DPA in German 1114 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—The authorities in the GDR have started another inquiry against a Leipzig human rights activist. A 27-year-old truck driver is accused of an "association for the pursuance of illegal aims" (Paragraph 218 of the GDR's Criminal Law). This was announced yesterday evening at an intercession event in East Berlin in which around 250 people participated. Thus a total of 13 inquiries are pending against human rights activists from Leipzig. Seven members of the Justice Working Group and the Life Initiative Group were still in custody.

Apart from East Berlin, there were said to have been intercessions and solidarity events for those arrested in at least eight GDR towns including Zwickau, Saalfeld, Erfurt, Leipzig, and Guestrow. Protestant parishes in

Leipzig and Saxony have been encouraged by both superintendants or the regional council to hold responsible intercession for those arrested during church services.

It became known in West Berlin today that two more members of peace and human rights groups in Leipzig and Guestrow had been summoned by the police yesterday [18 January]. As with the truck driver, it was apparently a matter of joint efforts to highlight violations of the Constitution and human rights in the GDR.

Today for the first time since the LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG, an East Berlin paper, JUNGE WELT, hinted at the events in Leipzig in a commentary. It says that outgoing U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz did not see himself as "too insignificant to mourn for 53 provocateurs at the CSCE session in Vienna".

Shultz had criticized the state's actions in Leipzig in front of the foreign ministers in Vienna and spoke of 190 arrests. JUNGE WELT goes on to say that the "provocateurs" had "taken themselves a bit too seriously and attempted to disrupt the remembrance of Karl (Liebknecht) and Rosa (Luxemburg) by a public assembly in the center of Leipzig."

Paper Corrects PAP Report on Beating of Pole

AU2001193589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On 17 January 1989, the Polish news agency, PAP, reported that a Polish citizen had been beaten by members of the GDR Customs Administration. According to the press office of the GDR Customs Administration, this report is completely unfounded. The citizen mentioned in the report has been repeatedly caught carrying out smuggling activities. During the entry clearance on 8 January 1989, members of the Goerlitz customs office had cause to suspect a new infringement of the law. The Polish citizen put up resistance to the check. He assaulted members of the Customs Administration. These assaults were warded off and the Polish citizen was not permitted to enter the GDR. The GDR customs organs act strictly on the basis of the GDR law and international agreements.

Agreement With Poland on Water Pollution

AU1301181489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jan 89 p 2

[Text] Frankfurt (Oder) (ADN)—An agreement between the GDR and the PPR on preventing and combatting the pollution of the waters in the area of their mutual border was signed in Kolpin in the Fuerstenfeld Kreis on Wednesday [11 January]. Guido Thoms, GDR deputy minister of environmental protection and water conservancy, and Zdzislaw Stencel, PPR deputy minister of environmental protection and natural resources, signed the document.

The two countries want to immediately brief each other on environmental accidents involving water pollutants, especially mineral oils, and help each other in combatting their consequences. It is their objective to prevent dangers for man, harmful consequences for the economy and the natural environment, or to minimize them through joint measures.

SEW Demands Prohibition of 'Neonazi' Party

AU1701173389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Jan 89 p 5

[Text] Berlin (West) (ADN)—Over the weekend [14-15 January], the SEW Presidium, at its eighth session, again requested Eberhard Diepgen, acting mayor of Berlin (West), to call off the participation of the neo-Nazi Republicans in the elections to the Chamber of Deputies and the city assemblies, and to have them prohibited. In the communique of the session it is stressed that the outrageous desecration of the antifascist memorials in Ploetzensee and on the Putlitz Bridge, and of the Rosa Luxemburg Monument show that the CDU/FDP Senate's policy, which plays down reactionary and neofascist activities, is preparing the soil for neofascism, chauvinism, and revanchism.

Straub Greets George Bush on Inauguration

LD2001210289 Budapest MTI in English 2031 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 20 (MTI)—Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, has sent good wishes in a letter to George Bush, President of the United States of America, on his official inauguration. Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs, has sent a letter of greetings to James A. Baker, U.S. secretary of state, on the occasion of his taking office. The head of Hungarian diplomacy bid farewell in a letter to the outgoing Secretary of State George Schultz.

The Hungarian politicians stated that the common interest lying with cooperation and the reform process currently underway in Hungary provide a firm basis, and the improvement in East-West relations favourable conditions, for the further development of Hungarian-American relations.

KISZ Union Organizes 'Mass Demonstration'

LD2101211289 Budapest MTI in English 1847 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 21 (MTI)—In a day-long mass demonstration organized by the 3rd district committee of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary (KISZ) on Budapest's Florian Square on Saturday [21 January], people arriving were met with the banner "We are on the edge of bankruptcy" and a symbolical lopped off tree-trunk, in which nails could be hammered, as a sign of protest. The demonstration was attended by more than 2,500 people.

The representatives of KISZ distributed leaflets indicating the wish to young people to express their disagreement, and not to enhance the current debate of the trade unions and the government. They complained about failure to cut subsidies to unprofitable production and lack of a real market economy, and called for clarification of the relationship of property forms. They stressed the realistic danger that if a turn takes place without the commitment of young people, another age-group might come to impede the reform.

In the afternoon the tree-trunk was almost entirely covered with nails and notices. A photograph of the trunk, together with a report about the demonstration, will be forwarded to the government and the members of parliament.

Police Prohibit Jan Palach Memorial Protest

LD2201194689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] In Budapest, FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] organized a group of young people to commemorate the death of [Czech suicide student protester] Jan Palach. They read out a statement by the FIDESZ board and then wanted to place a wreath in front of the Czechoslovak Embassy. Police officers on the scene told them that, in accordance with international law, it was not possible to do this. The young people then decided to place the wreath in front of the statue of Gabor Bethlen [ruler of Transylvania from 1613-29] in Heroes Square.

Deputy Interior Minister Gal on Refugee Issue

LD1901053089 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Zoltan Gal, deputy minister of the interior, this morning met representatives of Transylvanian refugees. The representatives asked the government to support those organizations which aid people in setting up their own homes, have a cultural life of their own, and generally integrate them into their new country. Here is the deputy minister of the interior:

[Gal] The special feature of this session is that certain people present here today already represent some kind of self-organizing communities, and that they can speak in the name of these communities. The necessity of the session, on the other hand, comes from the well-known fact that, with reference to the recent session of the National Assembly, there have been new aspects emerging concerning dealing with the problems of refugees. This was the issue I discussed with those most concerned about the matter.

Attention has been called to many a minor example of bureaucratism to be detected when dealing with refugees—and the abolition of these is to follow. This is a useful thing in itself. It is also important that the majority of those present sided with the necessity of having some kind of a [word indistinct] reception station. They also support the idea of some kind of screening, which is necessary in the case of refugees. At the same time, and I agree with this, too, they also mentioned that the setup so far has to be made more subtle. In order to send people back, one has to have deep and well-founded reasons for this, and these reasons must be analyzed thoroughly. This is also in accord with the plans concerning the future.

Refugee Camps 'Within 3 Months'

LD2101194689 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Refugee camps will be set up in Hungary within 3 months for those arriving from Romania. Deputy Interior Minister Zoltan Gal was interviewed on this by the West German paper DIE WELT. He said that the camps would be located in Budapest and also in three settlements in eastern Hungary. According to Zoltan Gal, the refugee problem can be solved internationally. For this reason, a delegation from the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees will visit Budapest in February.

Last year, by the way, 13,000 refugees were given residence permits. However, 1,400 people were sent back to Romania. As for the latter, Zoltan Gal said that they were criminals or minors, or they had crossed the border out of a wish for adventure. Earlier, there had been talk at a news conference here that secret agents [beepitett uegynoekoek] were also coming over from Romania.

DPA Cites Interview With Gal

LD2001230789 Hamburg DPA in German 2158 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Bonn (DPA)—The Hungarian leadership is preparing itself for a long, continuing stream of Romanian refugees. Deputy Interior Minister Zoltan Gal confirmed for the daily DIE WELT (Saturday [21 January] edition) that refugee camps would be set up in Budapest and three towns in eastern Hungary within "2-3 months." A delegation from the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees is expected in Budapest in early February to discuss the country's signing of the refugee convention.

Hungary, Gal said, needs an "international forum, for only at that level can the refugee problem be solved." His country is in a "predicament." Hungary wants to help the refugees. However, on the other hand, their flight to Hungary means the gradual undermining of Hungarian culture in Romanian Transylvania and promotes "nationalistic trends." At home, movements such as the Hungarian Democratic Forum use the refugee issue in order "to rise to the surface and then stay there."

As for West European "and other" socialist states, the official said it would be a long, drawn-out process to achieve recognition and that no progress could be noted in Romania concerning human rights issues. Although Moscow is exercising restraint in the Hungarian-Romanian conflict, many Hungarians have "great difficulty" understanding how the USSR can honor Nicolae Ceausescu with the Lenin Order, Gal said.

Council of Ministers Views State of Government

LD2001041889 Budapest MTI in English 2005 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 19 (MTI)—The government's political distinctive features must be strengthened and it must shape its own image, it was stated at the extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of Thursday [19 January] where a 6-strong cabinet was set up. As the only point on the agenda the ministers discussed issues of the government's working mechanism. State Secretary Dr Miklos Raft, president of the office of the Council of Ministers, told MTI:

The government has clearly outlined its position that the Council of Ministers is not a forum of interest coordination but of decision-taking. Interest coordination should previously take place. In this context speakers of the various points of agenda must conduct studies on the possible effects of the planned decisions and the conditions of implementation.

The cabinet is to be the workshop of the formation of central policy and debates on strategic issues. The premier and his deputy, the ministers of state and the ministers of interior and foreign affairs are permanent members. The cabinet session will also be attended by ministers responsible when issues are under discussion.

The plan-economic committee affiliated to the Council of Ministers has been dissolved as the last of the government committees. It was obvious during the debate that a government body must continue to give forum to the lengthy and intricate mechanism of interest coordination to which the college system provides a better framework. Besides the existing council and social policy colleges, new colleges will be set up in charge of the preparation of decisions, interest coordination and the formation of government policy.

Finally the government's attitude to parliament, its committees and the MP's was reviewed at the session. The members of the Council of Ministers took a stand that prior to each parliamentary session they would discuss preparations as a separate point of the agenda and following the session they would discuss specific tasks.

News Conference on Meeting

AU1801201589 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Jan 89 pp 1, 5

[Report by correspondents Andras Erdelyi and Janos Gy. Kiss: "Council of Ministers Holds Session—A Draft Trade Bill Is Being Worked Out—Report on Constitution Concepts—Proposal on Conferring Town Status on Various Settlements—Tourism Income Drops by $100 Million—Legal Regulations Needed for Child and Youth Care—News Conference by Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan"—in Budapest on 12 January]

[Excerpts] The Council of Ministers met on 12 January.

The government heard a report on the regulation concepts of the new constitution.

The Council of Ministers decided to accelerate the comprehensive review of the law on domestic trade.

The government proposed that the Presidential Council confer the status of a town with county rights on some existing towns, and the status of a town on some large settlements.

The Council of Ministers heard a report on the state of tourism and the tasks of developing this sector, as well as on the principles of the comprehensive regulation of child and youth care in Hungary. [passage omitted]

MAGYAR HIRLAP: It seems that the government discussed the issue of the new constitution for several hours. Has any decision or position emerged that would change the current pace of the preparation of the new constitution?

[Marosan] I would like to emphasize that this government session discussed the concept of the new constitution, and that it also debated the type of changes that can cause this concept to be submitted to a social debate. Following its revision, this concept will be discussed by the Central Committee and other public organizations, and following another revision, this concept will be submitted to the National Assembly. Thus, the current debate was on principles, and it did not focus on details. [passage omitted]

VESZPREM MEGYEI NAPLO: As you mentioned, the government also dealt with this year's tourism development plans. I would like to ask to what extent do these plans include the requirement to prevent mass tourism from becoming the focus of the development of tourism in the Lake Balaton area?

[Marosan] As is well known, tourism experts and heads of various competent ministries have for quite some time been trying to better balance our tourism. The bulk of tourism in Hungary is concentrated in Budapest and in the Lake Balaton area. Lake Balaton provides one-third of our U.S.-dollar income. Therefore, easing the burden on this area mostly depends on vacation and recreation opportunities for both domestic and foreign tourists in other areas of the country. [passage omitted]

VASARNAPI HIREK: Hungarian tourists have now for 1 year been flooding to Vienna to purchase goods. Does the government not plan some measures to enable these tourists to purchase the same products in Hungary?

[Marosan] [Passage omitted] Our short-term goal is to also sell these products which are in great demand by Hungarian tourists abroad for similar prices in forints, here in Hungary. This would solve the problem of supplying spare parts and services for these products. I think that, as a result of import liberalization measures, the supply of such products on the domestic market will improve considerably. [passage omitted]

MSZMP, Democratic Forum Consider Coalition

LD2001195589 Budapest MTI in English
1719 GMT 20 Jan 89

["HSWP-MDF Debate (Newsflash)"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, January 20 (MTI)—On Friday [20 January] representatives of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) held a debate on an eventual coalition, the establishment of a democratic system of institutions, the role of the HSWP, and the possibilities of pluralism.

The members of the MDF board expounded that, as there was no mandate from the people, there are no conditions for a political coalition. They proposed to restore the dignity of parliament, and transform it from a 'voting machine' into one exercising its supreme constitutional function. Some said that the HSWP had two faces, the Stalinist model had suffered a historical defeat but not yet a political one, they stressed.

The representatives of the HSWP said that the party had a changing nature and the overwhelming majority of the 800,000 party members were committed to democratic changes. THe HSWP does not wish to renounce power, only the forcefully maintained monopoly of power. They agreed that the democratic debate should have started two decades ago. There are many sorts of pluralism, and the existence of many parties is de facto in Hungary, the HSWP representatives said. In reply to a question, the members of the MDF board said that MDF would become a party if the interests of the country so require, but it would always remain a movement with a nature of intellectual coalition.

KISZ Official on Drafting New Constitution

LD2001220689 Budapest MTI in English
1909 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 20 (MTI)—It is obvious for us that the process of the emergence of a varied political structure is irreversible, Ferenc Gyurcsanyi, secretary of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary (KISZ), told MTI on the occasion of the managing committee of KISZ setting out its position on the process of constitutionalization.

KISZ, as the HSWP and its allies, is not interested in quelling the arising new political concepts and intentions. We think that today all responsible forces in Hungary have only one road to embark upon, that of dialogue and cooperation with groups holding differing views. This is why we especially appreciate the proposal of the New March Front on the policy of transition, but we do not support the proposed legal standing of the national committee. We are to give a written reply to the initiative.

We think Hungarian society must be built on the division of power among the various political forces taking the present political and power relations into consideration. The only road to a democratic social formation that puts the socialist values into the centre leads through agreement and not a policy of ousting. We want the HSWP to lead this process, said the secretary of the Central Committee of KISZ. On the new constitution he stated:

Seeing the transformation in the work of parliament, we are convinced that the supreme legislative power is capable of enacting a new constitution provided its political and legal content takes shape in social debate safeguarded by political and legal guarantees.

No new constitution can be enacted without a referendum. KISZ does not hold the establishment of any constitutionalizing body necessary.

The draft constitution made public recently does not answer the central question of who has the power and how it is exercised. In other words the conception is 'politically neutral'. We would like the system of conditions of a coalitional power to be established in one or two years.

Finally Ferenc Gyurcsany said that KISZ will take part in the next year's elections, presumably to be called under a new suffrage law based on a multiparty system, with its own programme. It would like to have as many as possible deputies regardless of age.

'Alternative Movements' on New March Front Plan

LD2201205689 Budapest MTI in English 1903 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 22 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Federation of Free Democrats and the Federation of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) receive with reservation, and the Munnich Ferenc Society rejects the proposal of the New March Front, which was made public on January 13 concerning formation of the Hungarian national committee. Representatives of the four alternative movements spoke about the subject on Hungarian radio.

The representative of the Federation of Free Democrats said that the HSWP should not set preliminary conditions to the talks. According to the Hungarian Democratic Forum, currently the most important question is the drafting of a new electoral law with guaranteed free elections, and the setting up of a constitutional national assembly. The Munnich Ferenc Society considers the formation of the Hungarian national committee untimely, as the government has to concentrate on the most pressing problems of production. They regard the dissolution of parliament and the invitation of new elections as a scattering of forces, since in their opinion now there should be order in the country. Although FIDESZ deems the proposal of the New March Front as noteworthy, they can conceive any kind of coalition only after the organization of free elections.

Social Democratic Party Officially Established

Leaders Interviewed

AU1901090089 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Jan 89 p 6

[Interview with Dr Andras Revesz, chairman of the Social Democratic Party, and Secretary Tibor Baranyai, by Marvanyi: "Interview With Two Heads of the Social Democratic Party—They Claim Legal Continuity"; date, place not given]

[Text] As is well-known, the Hungarian social democratic movement was reestablished last December, and its members founded the Hungarian Social Democratic Party [SDP] on 9 January. Our correspondent interviewed Andras Revesz and Tibor Baranyai.

[Marvanyi] Obviously, it is no accident that your party was formed prior to the approval of the law on associations and prior to the new regulations on political parties.

[Revesz] Indeed, this is no accident, for some of our young members thought that the old regulations were more favorable. In our view, however, the SDP has maintained its continuity because it was never dissolved. For decades it was claimed in vain that there were no social democrats and that only the extreme left wing of our party joined the communists at the time. Our party was not dissolved in 1956, and thus we maintain our legal continuity.

[Marvanyi] Nevertheless, it seems that you are trying to adjust to the rules. In accordance with the law on associations, the new organization must be registered. Will you fulfill this demand?

[Revesz] Of course we will. We want to fulfill all official demands, and, if necessary, we will register the party.

[Marvanyi] Approximately how many members do you expect? Is the concern justified that the new parties could split the ranks of the working class?

[Revesz] I personally know of 300 to 400 people, and others think that 800 to 1,000 people will probably join us in the near future. Those who consider social democracy a lasting value have already given their votes. A series of well-known public figures has already promised us that as soon as we form again, they will even leave the MSZMP and join us. However, a political organization becomes a real party only if there are 100 people who are ready to travel the country and search for sympathizers and the successors to the old social democrats.

[Marvanyi] With which organizations do you intend to cooperate or perhaps form a joint platform?

[Revesz] We do not plan to have a joint platform with anyone. We consider rehabilitating this country economically to be our main goal. If the issue on the agenda is to overcome the present situation, then we are ready to cooperate with all parties that believe in parliamentary democracy, including the MSZMP, although we do not accept the economic bankruptcy that they have brought upon us. In the morning, for example, people from the Free Democrats were here, and we found points of cooperation with them.

[Marvanyi] Social democratic activity and trade union activity were at one time almost one and the same. Mr Baranyai, what kind of relations will now emerge between the SDP and the trade unions?

[Baranyai] We provided a home for communists in the trade unions for 25 years. We hoped that they would follow the rules of democracy. Now, in spite of what has happened, we do not want to divide the trade unions. We want the trade unions to become organizations independent of the parties. Their leaders should not come from the party center.

[Marvanyi] In the form of what programs will you revive the social democratic traditions in Hungary?

[Baranyai] We hold meetings regularly; our next meeting will take place in the Makrapipa Restaurant in Bosnyak Square in Budapest on 19 January. In the future, we will organize bigger events. Naturally, in view of the traditional Petofi celebrations, we will gather on 15 March. We also intend to celebrate May Day, but we will follow tradition and hold an independent meeting.

Organizing Session Held

LD2001043389 Budapest MTI in English 2023 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 19 (MTI)—The organizing committee of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party held its first open session in Budapest on Thursday [19 January] with President Andras Revesz in the chair.

The party currently under organization, is seeking to work out alternative solutions for the pressing social issues and is to take past experience into consideration. At the session it was stated that they were expecting the support of both the members of the former Social Democratic Party and young people.

The party's main target is to assist the establishment of a welfare society in Hungary. To this end it is seeking to work in constitutional democracy along with the other parties, organizations and movements.

It was announced that urban and rural district organizations will be set up and the party's detailed programme worked out in the near future.

Smallholders Party Official on Future Activity

AU1801205189 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Jan 89 p 6

[Interview with Dr Imre Boross, legal advisor of the Smallholders Party, by L. Bokor: "Position of the Smallholders Party—It Is Not the Number That Counts"; date, place not given]

[Text] To what extent will the new laws adopted by the National Assembly affect the future activity of the Smallholders Party? Will they register themselves among the other associations? We asked Imre Boross these questions.

[Boross] In my opinion, our current status is identical with that of the MSZMP, because legally there is no difference between us. Our party was established in 1930 and was not dissolved by anyone at any time; thus, we continue our activity legally. Although our operative committee is holding a meeting right now, I can also declare on behalf of the other people that we have been and still are a party, and that we do not want to be an association, so we will not register as an association.

[Kobor] What if a law regulating the functioning of parties is drafted?

[Boross] I cannot tell you anything about that now, as I do not know what this new law will contain. If this law meets our expectations, we will probably register as a party; but if this law opposes our party's statute, then we will not register.

[Kobor] Is the operative committee now in charge of current affairs?

[Boross] Yes, with the participation of Pal Dragon, deputy general secretary; Karoly Ravasz, responsible for the press; Vilmos Bereczky, international affairs secretary; Istvan Jezso, Budapest secretary; Tibor Legrady, responsible for activity with young people; Erika Balogh, responsible for activity with women; and myself. All of us are led by our Provisional Chairman Tivadar Partay and General Secretary Dezso Futo. Besides, these two people were parliamentary deputies in 1945 and 1947.

[Kobor] We heard that you already have your own headquarters, too.

[Boross] It is a slight exaggeration to say that, but we will set up shop in the rooms of a small enterprise on Ulloi Road in Budapest in the near future.

[Kobor] How many members do you have at present?

[Boross] We have 4,000 members, and 25 member organizations that operate in the provinces. We hope that we will grow to 100,000 soon. However, we have never been led by the size of our party, and we are instead counting on voters.

[Kobor] Do you intend to send deputies to parliament again?

[Boross] Yes, we will delegate local council members and other deputies, too; that is why I have said that winning the voters over is more important than the number of our members.

Romanies Found Democratic Alliance Body

LD1601223889 Budapest MTI in English 1803 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, Jan 16 (MTI)—About half a million Romanies living in Hungary want to become nationality and have their representative in parliament, it was concluded at today's founding assembly of Hungary's Democratic Alliance of Romanies.

The provisional leadership will work to eliminate all unjustified differences between education and employment conditions faced by the members of that ethnic group and those in force for the rest of the population. It also announced it would also seek war reparations for the pogrom of nearly five decades ago.

The Council for Romanies has existed in Hungary for more than two years but failed to do much for the protection of their interests.

Minorities Work on New Nationalities Law

LD1801124989 Budapest MTI in English 1117 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 18 (MTI)—The representative bodies of the national minorities living in Hungary and the churches are among those taking part in drafting the new nationalities law.

The idea of creating a nationalities' programme has also been raised to lay down the fundamental principles of Hungary's policy towards its national minorities and specify the related guarantees. The law is aimed at guaranteeing the minorities protection and development of their national characteristics, and at laying down the fundamental political principles of active minority protection.

The law will declare the sovereign right of citizens to decide whether or not they regard themselves as belonging to a national minority. State authorities, including local councils, are obliged to provide mother-tongue education for minority children if their number reaches a set limit. The state is also obliged to train teachers for minority schools. The idea was also raised that, in those localities inhabited by minorities, official documents and announcements will be put out in the minority language as well.

The first nationalities law in Hungary, enacted in the 1870's, regulated the rights of minorities in Hungary, and the use of their mother-tongue. The Constitution currently in effect also included stipulations on the equal rights of minorities, the use of, and education in, their mother-tongue, and their right to preserve and foster their culture.

New Trade Union Journal Set for Publication

LD1701161389 Budapest MTI in English 1351 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 17 (mti)—Entitled "JELZO" (Indicator), a new theoretical journal on social and trade policy is to be launched by Budapest's "NEPSZAVA" publishers. The 72-page monthly, published as the legal successor to "MUNKA" (Labour) and "SZAKSZERVEZETI SZEMLE" (Trade Union Review), is primarily aimed at trade union activists and officials, but may also be useful to people concerned with issues relating to living and working conditions.

The periodical will provide information on meetings between the government and the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT), on representative work in the various economic branches and trades, and on the activity and results of the Theoretical Research Institute of Trade Unions.

Medgyessy Departs for CEMA Session in Moscow

LD2201173589 Budapest MTI in English 1601 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 22 (MTI)—Peter Medgyessy, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and Hungary's permanent representative to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, left for Moscow on Sunday [22 January] to attend the 130th session of the CMEA Executive Committee.

PZPR Plenum Draws Reactions, Commentary

Jaruzelski Interviewed

LD1901194189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1705 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Interview with Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the press center of the Polish Interpress Agency in Warsaw on 19 January; correspondents individually identified where possible—live or recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] As announced, we are broadcasting a report on today's press conference by Wojciech Jaruzelski. We will broadcast the Radio Club of Supporters of the Economic Reform tomorrow at 1805.

[Unidentified correspondent] Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. I have the honor, ladies and gentlemen, to welcome to the press center of the Polish Interpress Agency the Comrade General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. Thank you, comrade secretary, for coming to our press center on the occasion of an event of such importance as the 10th plenum of the PZPR Central Committee was and is. I would ask you to take the floor.

[Jaruzelski] Good evening. I am pleased after a long—maybe even very long—break to have another opportunity of meeting representatives of the Polish and international mass media. In the early hours of yesterday morning, the 10th plenary meeting of the PZPR Central Committee ended and—I think you will share this view—it was a significant event in the life of our party and has the great chance at the same time of becoming a turning point in the life of our country. The discussion during the second part of the plenum was marked by a multiplicity of themes, frankness, and a heated atmosphere [wysdka temperatura]. You can see even from the necessity of abbreviated statements published in the press that the discussion was [word indistinct] (?and) stormy, in contrast to (?discussions) in previous years. I want, however, (?caution) against regarding it in a simplified, hasty way, according to an obsolete (?black and white?) model. Using it in today's Poland is to move about on the fringes, not seeing the main current. I understand that journalistic interest (?centers) above all on the problems of pluralism. I will return to it in a moment. I would like, however, to say and ask you to take into account in your reports that the plenum was above all devoted to intraparty matters—the style of work, the reorganization of structures, the efficiency of forecasting, and effectiveness of action pioneering searches, in particular broad democratization and radicalized economic reform, which created many new problems which we have not come up against before. The plenum looked for answers to many questions burdening society today, particularly work forces.

These are often questions which were unthinkable only a few years ago. I would be glad, therefore, if the assessments of the 10th plenum you present were not to boil down to one thesis alone, important as I admit it is. The turn of 1988 and 1989 will with certainty go down as an exceptionally important moment in our history. For this reason, it is important that we are aware from whence it came and what its sources were. Perceptive and unbiased experts on Polish problems know that the decisions made in the last months and weeks result from the political philosophy adopted by the PZPR at the ninth congress in 1981, and confirmed and developed over 2 years ago at the 10th congress.

During the sixth plenum of the Central Committee, in December 1987—so it is already over a year ago—we gave this line new impetus. The resolutions of the subsequent Central Committee plenary sessions followed the same line. There is then a strict, logical connection between the resolutions of the 10th plenum and the 7-year-old party political line. On the other hand, 1988 proved that the solutions so far are not sufficient vis-a-vis the social expectations and the social needs connected with the deepening of socialist democracy. I understand that such an interpretation weakens the sensationalism of our plenary sessions.

I am sorry, because I realize that suitably attractive material from Warsaw has a connection with your professional interests. But the truth is usually more complicated and simpler at the same time than would often ensue from the press or television commentaries. I would like to state it clearly: We did not make any breakneck turn [karkolomny zwrot] yesterday in the early morning; we did make, however, a kind of a radical change [przewrot], or as a matter of fact, a very significant giant step on the same road we have been striding for many years already.

The opening made during the 10th plenum in the ideological and political sphere allows one to presume that in the near future the socio-political landscape of Poland will be subject to serious changes. Above all we count on progress, and even significant progress, in the process of a national agreement. It would be difficult for me to explain all the details, which undoubtedly are of interest to you. Every experiment, whether it is a scientific or a sociopolitical one, is to begin with just an experiment.

That is why I would not like to play the role of fortune teller. Besides, it is difficult to speak on behalf of other partners to the proposed agreement. They will undoubtedly do it themselves and on their own account. Generally, I can only say that our offer is an honest and serious one. I am counting on the fact that the constructive adoption of this offer will make it possible for an historical step to be made in the successful development of Poland. All of us want this very much.

So much for my preliminary remarks. Of course, I am not restricting the subject matter of the questions which you, ladies and gentlemen, might want to ask although the time I have available—about 1 hour—might contribute to this in a somewhat natural way. Fire away with your questions.

[Unidentified voice] Thank you, comrade secretary. Your questions please, ladies and gentlemen. Jan Rodzenski from RZECZPOSPOLITA.

[Rodzenski] Comrade general, I have the following question: In some speeches [word indistinct] plenary discussion, attention was drawn to the fact that the end has been reached in a certain stage of the development of socialism and also in a certain concept of this socialism; the way people imagine it to be and the methods for exercising power. I would like to ask what practical consequences this might have for relations between political power and state power.

[Jaruzelski] I think the answer to this question is largely provided by the resolution of the 10th plenum of the Central Committee. But when all is said and done it is not the first step along this road. Please note that, in particular in the past few months, following the formation of a new government headed by Premier Rakowski, very important changes are beginning to appear in this respect, and I am convinced that during our search we shall improve the way and methodology of cooperation and collaboration between the political factors, as you called them, and party factors provided, of course, that the fundamental system-based regulations which are well known to everyone are maintained.

[Unidentified voice] Leonid Toporkov from IZVESTIYA.

[Toporkov, in Russian] In the resolution of the 10th plenum there is mention of the concept of a state of socialist parliament democracy. I am interested in the forms for the implementation of this concept. Could you, comrade first secretary, explain this in a little more detail? Thank you.

[Jaruzelski] The answer to this question is in a certain sense similar to the one I gave in reply to the first question. I think that we are already on the road of building such a system of socialist parliamentary democracy which makes it possible to (?perceive) its horizons.

There is no doubt in anyone's mind after all, that Poland—as regards a political system—is [word indistinct] than it was [words indistinct] or even 5 years ago. How evident is the role, the [word indistinct] of our Sejm; how much stronger the standing, the scope, the importance of other representative bodies—I am thinking of the People's Councils; but this is only a certain stage in a process. Socialism, after all, by its nature and its goals, is a democratic system of government; it is a system which should fulfill people's hopes and dreams of democracy. This is a function of the exercise of authority; (?the possibility) of expressing one's views and having an influence on the country's life through one's milieu.

It seems that we are entering a stage when we will be able to speed up these processes, namely to create such possibilities for the operation of representative bodies, in particular the Sejm, so that they can fulfil the demand which I mentioned a moment ago, so that various kinds of current trends will be able to find their substantive and organizational expression there, which, of course, respecting Poland's constitutional order, would be able to find a place for their own aspirations. I think that the resolution of the 10th Plenum gives a very considerable (?impetus) in this direction. At the same time, I think that the approaching national ideological and theoretical conference will reap a rich harvest, which will enable a more precise and specific answer to this question.

[Unidentified AFP correspondent] General, what will the intentions be regarding the act of October 1982 [Not further specified]. Will they go in the direction of annulling it or amending it?

[Jaruzelski] This act was born during a long discussion and its fundamental elements, and fundamental content, was in fact approved and recognized, and affirmed today, indeed, by various milieux as one which, generally speaking, meets the needs.

There is not now such a dam that would once and for all block all problems. Probably this one, too, will mature to such a degree that it will be necessary to introduce specified modifications, especially when people get used to new, higher stages of the functioning of pluralism in our country. But it would be premature to express oneself on this matter today, [words indistinct] what we will attain in further talks, what we will attain at the roundtable if it comes about, which we desire very much as I have already said.

On the other hand, there is, as is known, in this (?law) a clause that refers to the decision of the Council of State on the possibility of opening up the subject for a widely understood union pluralism. And this precisely will or ought to be the subject of deliberations at the roundtable, and as transpires from the standpoint that you have received—yes?—It will then specify the scenario for further progress.

[Wesolowski] Wieslaw Wesolowski, TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA. What are the expectations of the comrade secretary with regard to the expected visit by Premier Rakowski to the FRG?

[Jaruzelski] We treat this visit as an important event. [word indistinct] for us, for Poles, Polish-German relations are exceptionally important. [passage indistinct]

This visit, although unofficial, nonetheless should contribute—for we know its program—to the talks of Premier Rakowski with various representatives of the FRG, but also representatives of other countries, causing better mutual understanding, and above all fundamental progress on the road of Polish-FRG relations.

[Question from Kay Withers of the BALTIMORE SUN read out in Polish by unidentified correspondent] General, I have two questions: I understand that it is somewhat premature at the moment for what I want to ask, namely, the leaders of Solidarity have not yet received a copy of the resolution of the 10th plenum, and they have therefore not been able to react in any way to the proposals contained in the resolution. However, I would like to ask: When exactly will they get those copies so that they can take a stand on the content of the resolution? And the second question: Would you rule out, general, the possibility of a meeting with Lech Walesa?

[Jaruzelski] First, the Chancellery of the Central Committee would be able to give a more precise answer than I can on this matter; but I presume that copies of this stand have already reached many places which show an interest in this subject; and second, undoubtedly, everyone will be able to read this stand in the press tomorrow. As for the meetings, well, first a politician never says never; second. (?I have) personal experience of talks with Lech Walesa. We met several times in 1981. The talks were down-to-earth, I would even say amiable [sympatyczny]. The fact that matters took another course afterward, I don't want to comment on that.

I think that they can progress along this course better and we hope that they will progress better especially as, in a sense, we are returning to the starting point. I have in mind here the proposals which I presented within the framework of the so-called meeting of three in November 1981. At that time I presented the (?establishment) of the Council of National Accord. But the fates of this proposal were not, unfortunately, delicately [words indistinct] the best. But because it is said that history does not repeat itself I think that we shall start afresh.

[Zakrzewski] Tadeusz Zakrzewski from the television news. I learned from today's TRYBUNA LUDU that at a certain point during the plenum you wanted to resign from the function of first secretary and from the function of chairman of the Council of State. I also read from the same TRYBUNA that Premier Rakowski, General Kisz Czak, and General Siwicki wanted to do the same but this was written down as among others. In other words there were others, too. Can you say who?

[Jaruzelski] I think that the openness of political life which we apply very broadly—and in this hall there is numerous proof of this—makes it possible for me to inform you—I think I will not be offending here my comrades and (?friends) in the party leadership—that the four people named in today's report submitted to the Political Bureau its intention [word indistinct] the Politburo acknowledged this to be unfavorable for the development of the situation in the country but understood the intentions, and in practical terms the (?whole of the) Politburo made itself available. At the same time I can inform [word indistinct] that already at a previous session of the Politburo Kazimierz Barcikowski and Jozef Czyrek also announced their readiness to resign. This readiness was announced by members of the leadership party who have been in it the longest. Apart from those I have named I would not like to give all the names. One can look at documents and see who was in the party leadership and when. And there is still one other piece of information: Alfred Miodowicz also expressed a readiness to leave the bureau, but in an earlier phase of the discussion when this initiative had not yet been taken by me. This happened, as is well known, in the final stage of the plenum's work.

[Turek] Boguslaw Turek of UPI. In his speech, Premier Rakowski recalled the need to introduce a trial period for Solidarity. The resolution on trade unions doesn't contain this; does this mean that the party is giving up the idea of Solidarity being legalized again?

[Jaruzelski] All this should be settled at the roundtable. The stand contains a formula which speaks about this, that a calendar should be agreed. Premier Rakowski expressed the view—and this view has its very important justification—that for a reform of the economy, for the stability of those processes, it would be beneficial for the longest possible time not to create conflict situations which could be linked with the process of establishing a pluralist trade union system. In any case, I would like to remind you that Premier Rakowski also said that he had asked himself the question: How far is Solidarity prepared to (?push) itself into the socialist system, and how far does it want to recognize itself and be treated exclusively as a trade union? For that reason, all these things must be seen as a whole, integrally; and I am convinced that when we get to the rountable we will be able to find solutions to guarantee, on the one hand, the aspirations of working people and the will to possess such a strong trade union and political representation, and on the other hand, to guarantee the stability of our state and the development of our economy, above all a rapid and more radical economic reform than hitherto.

[Slomkowski] Zygmunt Solmkowski, TRYBUNA LUDU. In the discussion at the plenum, much attention was paid to the style of work and the principles of the party's functioning; the role of basic organizations and echelons. The resolution also takes up these issues. How can these statements be translated into language and specific action? For example, the idea is to (?lessen) the role of basic organizations in workplaces; a new way of action by party members in representative bodies or the functioning of a director who is a party member in an independent enterprise; or the relation between party committees and managements or organs of state authorities.

[Jaruzelski] This is a subject for a huge lecture on a range of matters including the resolution. I'd like to remind you that the theses, which preceded that resolution, (?were) very extensive and very detailed—some people think they were too detailed and for that reason many people didn't manage to read them fully. Above all the discussion which was centered on them—from the many practical experiences which we already have in this sphere—allows the formulation of these goals in the resolution in an abbreviated, even lapidary form, assuming that (?in) the process which will continue to develop we will use those experiences more and more.

This is a subject which is too broad, and I would say too specialized in the internal party meaning of the word, for me to be able to develop it today at this meeting and in the time we have available. But the question itself is very important because it applies to, one might say, the crux of party work. This work, and after all its results in the (?final) analysis, are connected with the activity of the basic echelons: This is the front line, this is the foundation—sometimes I call this, professionally, even our party infantry. We want that it is in precisely these echelons that there is the greatest feeling of subject-orientation [podmiotowosc], identity, independence, and initiative in implementing the aims that have been jointly mapped out within the framework of the program which, I think, this resolution defines.

[Stefanov] Kostak Stefanov, Bulgarian radio and television. Is there not a fear that to some extent, even 10 percent, the events of 1981 will be repeated?

[Jaruzelski] There is always this fear, but there is a saying which runs as follows: If you're afraid of wolves then don't go into the forest. I mentioned at the beginning that, after all, (?everything) is changing a lot: We are changing and so is the situation. This situation is completely different both at the international—even global—level and at the level of our system and of our community. Every country is looking for solutions which might speed up the construction of a socialism we would like. At the same time, and above all, our internal realities are changing.

[Words indistinct] We have considerably changed as a party after all. Let us compare our resolutions, let us compare our situation of several years ago and today, the way of thinking, and our perception. The same also concerns our potential partners. Does it mean that everyone is changing for the better? No. This is how it is in life: Some change for the better, others just the opposite, and others are stuck in the same place. Overall, the rule is such that everything progresses, that people change, after all, in proportion to these facts, to these realities—and these are conducive to seeking agreement. To seeking constructive solutions. If these were just my dreams, then one could really question them. But specific facts speak in favor of such reasoning, as do all sorts of statements by representatives of the opposition, the so-called constructive opposition—and Solidarity, as well as the basic improvement, one can say, in good relations between the state and the church, and many other things which are very well known and which I do not want to elucidate on.

Maybe I shall put it briefly, that one cannot go forward, remembering even—as a matter of fact, necessarily remembering the past and drawing conclusions from it—but one cannot go forward while looking back. I think that such thinking should dominate, and we count on it. But can we assume 10 percent or so of condemnable threat [as heard]? Yes. Yes. Every resolute movement, every change—not to mention a revolution, because it could be too great a word—is connected with a certain risk. But the measure of responsibility of all those forces which would like to participate in such a change is how well they can cope with this historical task. And after all, what else? there is a socialist state which has a certain structure and certain powers and measures which should guarantee its stability, which, as it is known, was confirmed some time ago in practice. I do not want to say that we have no anxieties. The best proof is that the session of the 10th plenum also revealed them, but I want to be an optimist.

[Jakubowska] Aleksandra Jakubowsa from Dziennik Telewizyjny. The 10th plenum resolution generally defines the place and the way in which the opposition is to participate in exercising authority. Of course, there is talk of their representation in the Sejm, in the People's Councils, in the government, but will it suffice for the opposition. Is not the example of the latest Hungarian solutions a proof that soon in Poland one has to create the possibility of action for the opposition parties? Second, which forces already existing in Poland—in your opinion—can constitute the core of such an opposition which the resolution mentions?

[Jaruzelski] First of all, I would like to know what these Hungarian solutions are, because I know Hungarian searching, thinking, and discussions. On the other hand I know that in Hungary there exists one party so far, and we have three parties. I do not mention many other respectable organizations, which to tell the truth do not have a party character, but they exert a significant influence on the political and social life.

So, we are watching the searching by our Hungarian friends very carefully, but above all we must base ourselves on our own experience and this is far advanced. As regards those forces and factors which could potentially be called the constructive opposition in Poland and which operate in an organized way, well, above all we have here various kinds of organizations and associations which have their own very clearly defined sociopolitical personality—to mention but the Clubs of Catholic Intelligentsia [kik], with their whole broad backup. At present, various kinds of associations and clubs are coming into being and there will be more and more of them; in any case, the 10th plenum made a statement on this material. Such forms are active or such institutions

function as the Constitutional Council for example, which is attached to the chairman of the Council of State and whose activities—if you read the stenograms, the records of those deliberations—are marked by a genuine criticism and very carefully formulated assessments. I am convinced that this is one of the, so to speak, seeds and certainly one of the experiments and potential cells, which can afterward become transformed or develop into definite political structures.

So, the spheres for searching are very large; it corresponds to the question put by Professor Toporkow concerning the prospects for the development of parliamentarianism in the socialist state. At this stage, we see this development above all as the consolidation of all the subjects currently functioning in our parliament, and the introduction into them, to a considerably broader extent than hitherto, of representatives of other forces, other circles, other orientations. That is the process.

[Konstantopolous] Dmitrios Konstantopolous, RIZOSPASTIS, Greece. You have spoken many times, General, about the Polish road to socialism, about the Polish socialist model. This is also stressed in the PZPR documents. The first attempt of this kind was at the time of First Secretary Wladyslaw Gomulka. It was halted. Do you see this second attempt, General, as an open, feasible and [word indistinct] only solution to Poland's problem; or are there fears that this process will be halted?

[Jaruzelski] (?The answer) will be brief: No. I personally have no such fears.

History does not go backwards. And as you mentioned this event of 1956, Wladyslaw Gomulka, whom, after all, I personally and the whole of the party respect, then perhaps the definition is somewhat free but I think characteristic... [Jaruzelski changes thought] Wladyslaw Gomulka went from renewal to a kind of martial law: This was the nature of December 1970. We are going from martial law to increasingly deeply progressing renewal. There is in this a certain logic in the historical process. This logic is, after all, connected closely with all those phenomena which are taking place in the socialist community, which has reached a certain threshold beyond which certain changes are necessary in order to cross it and to cause a deepening and acceleration of those processes and aims which socialism has, after all, engraved on its banners. Maybe I am expressing myself too grandiloquently here, but this is how I feel. And of particular importance and valuable to us are those experiences and quests which are being implemented in the Soviet Union—the famous perestroyka, the personal role of Mikhail Gorbachev—and the quests in virtually all the socialist countries, although each one of them solves these problems in accordance with both historical traditions and also present-day conditions, aims, and requirements. I think the great achievement of this process is also that no one is foisting ready-made solutions onto anyone else. Quite the contrary, we are all enriching each other with these experiences and I am convinced that they will result in a new, higher, and better stage in the development of socialism.

[Gonczarski] Jerzy Gonczarski from EKSPRES WIECZORNY. (?As regards) the 10th plenum I would like to ask to what extent views about the self-limitation of the role of the party in the Polish political system have at present crystalized in the party?

[Jaruzelski] You cannot measure this with the aid of a rule. This is, above all, a clear will to carry out changes heading in this direction; a will which in my opinion is so important and augurs so well for the future because it does not stem only and exclusively from the subjective views of this or that person, or this or that group, or even the party as a whole. At the same time it is an expression of a certain demand of this historical period which in conditions of increased decentralization and independence of all subjects of economic and political life, in conditions of the need to adapt development to the requirements of the scientific-technical revolution, to international cooperation—in other words to everything that, as if, unties one's hands and requires maximum independence in activity. [sentence as heard] But please remember that independence, increased independence, at the same time, means increased responsibility. Independence without responsibility turns into anarchy. And this has happened more than once to us in history.

Thus what is important is that maximum independence be secured while at the same time securing the maximum responsibility.

[Broniatowski] Michal Broniatowski from Reuter. Mr General. Seven years ago, more than 7 years ago, you introduced martial law to eliminate Solidarity. Today you have put your authority on the line to legalize Solidarity. Do you not feel disappointed over such a development?

[Jaruzelski] No. Above all, please remember that the introduction of martial law meant the suspension of the activity of all trade unions and many other organizations. It was connected with undertaking the most varied actions, including the internment of a great part of the previous political and state leadership. Thus, this was a decision and an act of wide-ranging scope, the aim of which was to slow down the destructive rush into an abyss. Obviously there were in this rush certain causative [sprawcze] and dominant forces—and belonging to them was, above all, the extreme part of Solidarity, which attracted people who were often (?well-informed) and with the best intentions.

And what follows from this, this was the closure of a certain stage, but simultaneously this was the opening of a new stage based on the fact that, as has been stressed more than once, there is no return to the times before 13 December [1981]. Which means that we will continue all

the reforms. We will be developing democracy, and I judge that this word has been kept. And even in these difficult conditions, extreme conditions, of the martial law we undertook many reformatory activities. And we are continuing them step by step. The tempo and the rhythm are varied—that depends on many factors both internal and external.

And I believe that without the martial law—I even spoke of this in the Sejm recently—there would have been no roundtable. There would have been no roundtable. I do not wish here to speculate on what would have happened if martial law had not been introduced. It was just this blockage of those negative phenomena—this might sound a little strange, although during the course of the roundtable discussions, one of the participants, Professor (?Kloczkowski) if I remember correctly, said that the martial law also saved Solidarity. In what sense did it save Solidarity? If an extreme situation had come about then, not just in a physical sense, but in the sense of some awful burden of responsibility for this state, then it would have been necessary to fight this movement. This did not happen. We all passed through that stage—although it was a difficult, painful, and dramatic stage—without burdens on either side that could not have been forgotten or could not have become closed pages. Only, this must be desired. We desire it.

That is why we understand when we say: the same party but not the same. The tenth plenum has sharpened this still further. So, we expect that Solidarity, if it arises in a legal form, as a certain new formula, will also not be the same.

[Minarik] Pavel Minarik of RUDE PRAVO. Comrade General, the Central Committee's stance on political and trade union pluralism is a short document, full of substance and the problem [word indistinct] is so important, although not understandable to everyone, perhaps. Even the discussions at the 10th plenum showed that such standpoints still exist. How does the party leadership propose to ensure support for their stance in the party ranks and throughout society?

[Jaruzelski] The experience of recent years and whole decades has taught us that so-called wishful thinking can become a reality. A very eloquent expression of this in its time was the theory or slogan: the moral and political unity of the nation. There is absolutely no such unity and there cannot be. There is no country in the world where everybody agrees with everybody else about everything. The point is that we are more aware of this today, perhaps because and unfortunately because Poland is a country in which those difference have shown up particularly sharply, but which by the same token have prompted us and, I would say, probably should prompt all the partners in the dialogue to look for a level of understanding in order to reach certain supreme goals. It is exceptionally valuable, I think, that the discussion at the 10th plenum reflected the multiplicity of opinions and therefore fear, concerns, and worries, too. However, as you saw the resolution was adopted unanimously in the end; and there was a relatively small range and number of people who expressed their opposition to the resolution on trade union affairs. That's why I am convinced that, by explaining our policy, we will win the whole party over to it. Second, there is a principle which is binding in our party, that one can and must even hold a discussion on the resolution, even if it leads to a dispute or quarrel; but when it is democratically adopted it must be consistently implemented. We are counting on this and we will demand this.

As for society, society holds very different opinions on this, but all research, including that done by Colonel Kwiatkowski's institute, shows that the majority of society is firmly in favor of agreement, of finding various forms which facilitate that agreement, and one of those is the pluralist formula.

Of course, perhaps the most complicated problem is the attitude of the trade unions affiliated in the OPZZ, but I am convinced that these are unions that have attained such major achievements and authenticity, and an authenticity ... [Jaruzelski changes thought] these are not unions that are often described as the unions of the regime by the press including those of you who are represented here. It's interesting that they should be called the unions of the regime when in practice they cause the government to fall and carry out activities which are very much at variance with government or state decisions. Today their position is that strong. Over and above that one can probably often say that a man, and here I am thinking of a party member, strong and not mean-spirited, such a man should be mobilized by this kind of unease and fear. On the other hand, only a mean-spirited and weak person is paralyzed by them. I believe that the decided majority of the members of our party belong precisely to those that are bold and not mean-spirited; and that these solutions that we are introducing will today mobilize them to still more effective work and defense, and defense of our party line.

[Unidentified correspondent reads question from Burt Quinn, CBS news] General, in the premier's statement we heard words which indicated that a renewed legalization of Solidarity is encumbered by a number of conditions, that there are certain preliminary conditions for its renewed legalization. However, from your comments today it follows that in principle all issues are open for discussion. Which, then, is true? Is it that there are preliminary conditions which have to be fulfilled, or are all matters, all issues, subjects which can be negotiated?

[Jaruzelski] The roundtable is for negotiation. We have always said, we precisely have always said that we would like to sit at the table without taboo subjects and without preliminary conditions. The premier was expressing these, let's call them norms, which should contribute to a normalization in our country and make it possible for trade union pluralism not to degenerate into a phenomenon which could threaten the stability of the state and

the processes of economic reform. In that sense these are conditions which we impose in order to hold these talks around them and to obtain guarantees which would in fact make this dispute in this sense pointless. It seems to me that in your question I can observe a somewhat alarming signal that the expectations of the government which, I would like to stress again, in fact amount to us not wanting to agree to some destructive processes taking place, that this is being treated as something that undermines our intentions.

There is no country in the world that would of its own accord or voluntarily agree to an uncontrolled process, to a process that might threaten its fate. In this sense these are conditions. On the other hand, how the procedures for the implementation of political and union pluralism will be agreed is precisely what should form the situation, and today's conditions would then be taken in a completely different light.

[Wedrowski] Jacek Wedrowski, Interpress. Comrade first secretary. Responsible thought for the future of the country is very important, it has many times been stressed in your speeches. Hence the question: What are the most important political tasks for the party ensuing from the standpoint that we received today, especially in the sphere of a practical transformation of their subject matter into everyday practice?

[Jaruzelski] The first is to convince people. The second is consistent and kindly implementation. No more [words indistinct].

[Unidentified correspondent] I would wish in a certain sense to continue the question of Mr. (Queen) set previously. My point is whether these norms about which you spoke are the subject of negotiations during the roundtable talks. And second to ask whether you can give us some envisagable deadline for the commencement of these roundtable talks.

[Jaruzelski] I will start with the second point. There is a humourous saying in the poem of Boy-Zelenski: Greater is the embarassment as two wanted it all at once. We don't. I can't reply as to whether the other side has matured to it and when it wants to sit down at this table. I wish to say that on our side if this table commences its work, the stateside will unchangingly be represented by General Czeslaw Kisz Czak, and also by Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek.

This I think answers part two of your question. For me an obvious and unshakeable condition—and this is, of course, a condition—is whether Solidarity will agree to, recognize, and will respect the order of a socialist state legally and constitutionally. In the sphere of just such an understanding of things, everything (?is not negotiable) in the sense of time and forms. This is a fundamental matter. If there were no agreement on this matter there would be no understanding and the matter of the roundtable would unfortunately become, and I have to say this with great grief, impossible to carry out. This would not be, please understand me correctly, because we insist on some sort of rigid formulae. No. When what is at stake is the constitutional order of the state, this is an elementary requirement throughout the whole world, and in the conditions of our Polish difficulties, I think it would be all the more difficult to be surprised at the fact that in order to examine all other matters it is necessary, above all, to agree on a point of departure. I have understood that so far, at least on the outside [frontalnie], leading activists of Solidarity have not denied this principle. Thus, I am surprised at your concern as regards these conditions. I think that the matter should nevertheless be understood correctly.

[Wozniak] Grzegorz Wozniak from the television news. Those abroad view our solutions often with sympathy and often with great caution. I would simply like to know what you think about the linking up that is taking place between the external conditions of the Polish reforms and the influence of our Polish changes on relations with other countries.

[Jaruzelski] Do you really deserve a serious answer, because we understand this not from the view of Polonocentricity [polonocentryzm], of some sort of megalomania—since this word is funny and cannot be taken seriously—but we understand the responsibility of the state and of the forces ruling it in a country which has a population of almost 40 million inhabitants, which is in the center of Europe, and which is located as it were on the frontier of two worlds. It follows from this that the changes being carried out in Poland and the situation at present in Poland have, and undoubtedly could have, an effect on a broader scale.

Anyway, that kind of situation took place in 1981.

As far as the effect of world developments on the events in Poland is concerned, there is no doubt whatsoever that first and foremost these great processes are most fully reflected in Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's phrase new thinking, that these processes carry with them a multilayered, multiaspect breakthrough not only in relations between the two powers but in international relations as a whole, and in the entire philosophy of relations between states, thereby indirectly also between people. The philosophy of hostility, which for so many decades dominated relations between states but which also after all transferred to various internal structures, is being replaced by a philosophy of interdependence. We would like it to be replaced more and more by a philosophy of collaboration, even a philosophy of friendship. I consider that the atmosphere which is developing as a result of these processes, equally in the military dimension, and in the political and social dimension, also very much promotes our domestic changes. We could say they are subjected to the same logic.

Here again I shall use what perhaps is somewhat loose reasoning. As we all know, there are coalitions which arise frequently between states and forces, constellations which by their nature are very hostile, antagonistic toward one another when dealing with some greast common problem, first and foremost a threat. History knows a great many such coalitions; equally, I'd like to stress, on an international scale and on a domestic scale, within the systems of particular states. What is the fate of such coalitions? Some of them fall apart, having fulfilled the historic task for which they are created—let us recall, for example, the fate of the anti-Nazi coalition—while others move toward cooperation and even friendship. The important thing is for this to be the fate equally of those coalitions which are taking shape on an international scale and those which we want to create in Poland.

Ladies and gentlemen, when we say that we want to bring into our system way that counts the forces that are in opposition to us, we precisely assume that that is a conclusion of an accord for realizing a common, great, and superior objective which is to cope with the challenge that Poland faces, to speed up our development, and to overcome the crisis completely. That is a great national requirement. And we would like to hope that if such a coalition of different forces is created for this purpose, then it subsequently transforms into an alliance, into cooperation. That would be of tremendous value. After all, we are all united by patriotic intentions.

[Jakubowska] Anna Jakubowska, ZYCIE WARSZAWY. I would like to ask, General, about the policy on youth, about the entry in the resolution which speaks about the reaching and observing of an accord on educating young people equally within the schools, the organizations, and the church. Is anything more specific taking shape on this subject? Can you say anything more specific? Thank you very much.

[Jaruzelski] This is, of course, a vast topic but at the same time if we are on the subject of young people, then it can never be stressed strongly enough how important this is and how we should really unite forces so that the upbringing of young people should progress in a direction which serves the interests of Poland well, that this upbringing should be in keeping with the spirit of the time, and that it should be in keeping with the spirit of tolerance and accord. In this matter, as is well known, things are sometimes not so easy and straightforward. I have brought here—I do not want to repeat this any more in this hall because time is pressing—several pamphlets which were recently scattered near the Central Committee. They contain vocabulary which I can remember only from the 1950's—I am not speaking of the time of Goebbels [word indistinct]—in the sharpest, as one says here, Stalinist style. This was dreadful and monstrous abuse. Then I thought with some relief that this is an historical joke and that this Stalinism has returned through a completely different door, because in the party—the force which we represent—such vocabulary is not used. Even the greatest fundamentalists do not use such language. Thus, it is worth thinking about this.

This is also perhaps a problem of political culture, above all of culture which should be grafted onto the young generation, the wonderful young generation which is our hope, and which I stress on many occasions when friends and comrades younger than me, are outraged at how we can tolerate the fact that some young person is talking such rubbish or throwing a stone somewhere or other. Of course, this hurts and worries me a lot.

However, I think we must be very patient, indulgent even. I remember those dramatic years, our Polish road through suffering, our Polish quiet Don [Reference to Sholokhov's famous book "And quiet flows the Don"], or our not too quiet The Bug or the vistula, when we were shooting at each other, when we were young people fighting. [sentence as heard] Today the majority of us are agreed. Such is our philosophy. We want this philosophy to reach everybody and to lead everybody in this direction.

Today, attempts are being made to stimulate the young people to actions and to thinking which contradict the perspective of Poland's development—after all they will live in the solid, socialist Poland; because Poland will be socialist, whether anybody outside Poland likes it or not it will be socialist; but it will be a different socialism, a better socialism, more modern, one close to the people. And they will live in this country because all will not emigrate—surely not. The issue here is that their entrance into life must not be a great disappointment, and that it is full of the will to improve this system and not to destroy it or to despair, which does not bring anything good.

Stance on Pluralism Outlined

LD1901161889 Warsaw PAP in English 1514 GMT 19 Jan 89

["PUWP CC Document on Pluralism"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 19—In the early hours of January 18, the 10th PUWP CC Plenum adopted a stand on political and union pluralism, which—meant as an integral part of the PUWP's systemic concept—becomes a significant component of Poland's socio-political reality.

The Central Committee stresses the direct interrelation and interdependence between the formation of the new formula of political pluralism and the new model of union pluralism on the one hand and the development of social dialogue and building a broad, lasting national agreement—on the other.

This can find expression in early parliamentary elections meant to account for broader political orientations than so far. This should be preceded by specifying at the round table the election platform for that which in the

face of the elections is common to all Poles, as well as elaborating guidelines for the Election Law and principles of representation of various political forces within the 10th Sejm (parliament). (The talks) at the round table should moreover specify organizational forms of national agreement founded on a broader groundwork. It is also at the round table that conditions, ways and timetables should be agreed concerning the introduction of trade union pluralism and opening up the way to creating new trade unions, including "Solidarnosc," which in the name of unity of interests of the working world would set up a joint representation vis a vis the economic administration in work establishments. The Central Committee stresses that creating accomplished facts incompatible with the trade union law now in force may disturb the process of development of trade union pluralism.

In the same document, the PUWP CC comes out for strong and independent trade union movement. The hitherto attainments of trade unions affiliated in the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) serve well the interests of the working people. The PUWP CC bases its attitude towards the principle of trade union pluralism on the assumption that "the trade unions will be such as the working people wish them to be." The principle was reflected in the Trade Union Law adopted October 8, 1982. The limitations of its functioning stemmed from political and economic situation shaped by the events of 1980-81.

The trade unions' organizational shape is an open question and it requires discussion by all the sides concerned, with special reference to representatives of trade union organizations affiliated in the OPZZ.

The PUWP CC called on all PUWP members and candidates to actively support the stand.

According to unofficial data obtained by PAP reporter, the document was adopted after a long discussion with 143 votes for, 32 against and 14 abstentions.

Papers Comment on Party Plenum

LD1901163089 Warsaw PAP in English
1404 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 19—Polish papers today carry commentaries on the recent plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee. The RZECZPOSPOLITA government daily writes that "the 10th plenum has paved the way to a new political landscape in Poland. This, however, should not be indentified with a new arrangement of forces as this remains unchanged. The new thing is that the leading party authority came out for opening a process leading to the [words indistinct] of participants in the national agreement both, on the political and unionist planes, including the Solidarnosc."

"The most important result of the 10th plenum is the party's acceptance and declaration in favour of the losses and gains is unpredictable," RZECZPOSPOLITA wrote. [sentence as received]

"What has changed today in effect of the 10th plenum. First of all the round table is closer and its chances for success have grown largely at least as far as the governing side is concerned. Sejm elections have appeared ahead and participation in them by candidates nominated by the opposition. It should be assumed that the legislation creating statutory foundations for legal organisation of the opposition and preparations for the elections will be accelerated," it added.

"The coming days and weeks are crucial. The internal policy in Poland enters a very difficult and delicate stage of materialisation of the 10th plenum's decision," RZECZPOSPOLITA said.

The army paper ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI comments that "the rank and significance of the plenum for all the people of this country is determined by the adopted resolution, a document which synthetically describes questions of greatest importance for the present day and future of the socio-political life in this country but first of all for the position, role, and intra-organisational work of the Polish United Workers' Party in its drive to a modern socialism in Poland.

"Realities have decided that the party, while rejecting what saddled its functioning in the past decades, decided to make a radical turn in its activities," adds ZOLNIERZ.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY says that "the time is ripe for major reforms in the party itself, for changes in the methods of its activities, for the rejection of the bureaucratic style of management.

"If the party wants to be a real force capable of offensive and successful reformatory initiative, it must not only forget its omnipotence but also more broadly open to the reformatory proposals coming from beyond its ranks. But above all it should find its way to the youth.

"All this essence is in the resolution which promises innovatory approach to the creation of a partnerlike, pro-reform coalition, to the development of parliamentary democracy, to the consolidation of all the features which should characterize modern society, society of active citizens, in which there is room for the materialisation of various goals and aspirations of both individuals and groups.

"The party itself, democratic inside and successful in action wants to win a permanent confidence of that society, to have its approval for the formation of a social and political system corresponding to the new times that are inevitably coming up," ZYCIE concludes.

Miodowicz Holds News Briefing

LD2001203989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 20 Jan 89

["Extensive report" by correspondent Marek Kassa on news conference held by OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz in Warsaw for Polish and foreign correspondents on 20 January; Miodowicz comments recorded; from the "At Home and Abroad" program]

[Text] [Kassa] A large group of journalists came to the meeting with Alfred Miodowicz. The majority of questions, of course, concerned the stance of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum on political and trade union pluralism. Alfred Miodowicz said this, inter alia, about the consequences of that stance for the trade union movement.

[Miodowicz] The consequences for the trade unions: Our trade union was not prepared for this declaration. So, the initial reaction is astonishment, protests, dissatisfaction, and various other nervous reactions like that. The second reaction will be considerably more fundamental. This [stance means] the radicalization of our trade unions. This will worry me personally a great deal in my work in view of the fact that radicalization always (?leads) to large demands being put forward. Large demands are then linked to their execution and therefore to their enforcement. How should they be enforced? Well, you have to base yourself on something. Since there are no negotiations, since there is no protest action, then maybe a strike. The situation in the country is very tense. I think we are on the threshold of very serious events in workplaces. If the intentions of this stance were to calm things down and create a mood of hope in workplaces, it seems to me that the effect may be the opposite.

[Kassa] Here is the statement on the OPZZ Executive Committee resolution on the government's draft changes to the 5-Year Plan, the National Economic Consolidation Plan, the state budget, and the central annual plan for this year:

[Miodowicz] Well, today a government official came to us to explain why the substance of the documents was so inefficiently prepared—the documents which were sent to the Sejm by the government. The official said: Very possibly because the trade unions were too late in overthrowing that [previous] government. They overthrew that government, and this government had too little time to prepare them properly.

There is something in this. The documents were done in a great hurry; this must be understood because not much time was left to work them out. I think that the documents, the proposals which have been prepared for the Sejm, will not be approved by the Sejm but will have to be amended extensively. We are, therefore, shifting our activity to the Sejm and our deputies are working hard there already. When I say "our" I mean trade union deputies.

[Kassa] Next Alfred Miodowicz was asked what he thought about the suggestion of the 10th plenum that trade unions in work enterprises create joint representations.

[Miodowicz] The error in this is thinking that we will work out the shape of trade unions in Warsaw and that it will be the way we want: either one union in one enterprise or perhaps one representation and several circles; or maybe there will be several unions and one representation. Eventually everything will be decided by the workers. What will happen is what the workers at various enterprises want. In the OPZZ our formula for confederation does not allow us to ensure that things are to be this and not the other way. Democratic centralism does not function in the OPZZ and in our trade unions. We can imagine what we want but in the end it will be the way people in work enterprises want it to be. I think that this will be the best because people know how to organize themselves and how to do it.

[Kassa] Alfred Miodowicz was asked if he voted against the plenum stance on trade union pluralism.

[Miodowicz] Of course I voted against. First, it was our idea—the trade union's idea—to meet our colleagues from the other side, let us say the Gdansk group, halfway. I was the one who insisted, against all pressures, that Walesa must be heard because he is completely different to how he is being portrayed. We were the ones who brought about a very calm conversation, in spite of various pressures to avoid it. The Miodowicz-Walesa conversation will bear fruit for years; it will not just be a success for a week, to show who won. I thank Lech for behaving very properly, too; I also tried to behave like this, although we did not agree on this in advance. A second matter: The stance is justified; it is necessary to open up. We should not close in [sie zakluczyc].

But the base must be prepared for this. It must be explained to everybody how this happened, that 5 weeks ago in Lodz we said: One trade union in one workplace, and we will calmly comply on the principle of experience and decision. [sentence as heard] But now, not having experience, without experiencing, we make the decision. The third matter: It would be an exceptionally good thing for people who work, who operate in the trade union sphere—for I still assume that Lech's group is a trade union and not a political group—for those who operate to have the opportunity and the chance to come to an agreement, to agree with each other directly.

[Kassa] There was also a question connected with his feelings on receiving the Victor Prize [for TV personality of the year, won jointly by Miodowicz and Walesa].

[Miodowicz] Every prize gives pleasure, does it not? I cannot say that I am worried. Besides that, I am in good company. My God, to share an award with a Nobel prizewinner, well, that is my personal success. I just wonder if we will get one statuette each or if we will get one and lend it to each other? [laughs] We will have to draw up some sort of agreement, how long the statuette will be at Lech's and how long it will be at my place. That is the problem worrying me a little. I am worried that Lech does not want to popularize our Zwiazkowiec. He has said that he will not popularize the Zwiazkowiec here because it would make our cash office here stronger. [sentence as heard] I am a bit sorry about that: It would indeed make our cash office stronger.

[Kassa] Answering other questions, Alfred Miodowicz said, inter alia, that trade unionists are ready to get down to roundtable talks at any time.

Further on News Conference

LD2001230289 Warsaw PAP in English 1903 GMT 20 Jan 89

[By Wieslawa Mazarska and Jan Rozdzynski]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 20—Alfred Miodowicz, member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau and leader of the OPZZ (trade unions) was among the 32 PUWP CC members at the 10th CC plenary meeting who voted against the resolution on political and trade union pluralism.

Miodowicz told a press conference today: "I am for a quick introduction of union pluralism, though I voted against the CC Stance. The cards have been laid on the table, it is necessary to go ahead, we are waiting for the other side."

OPZZ Executive Committee's Resolutions

Speaking about the present, two-day meeting of the Executive Committee at the beginning of the conference OPZZ spokesman Franciszek Ciemny said that the committee had decided to ask factory and nationwide union organisations as well as the WPZZ (Provincial Alliances of Trade Unions) to urgently collect unionists' opinions about the stance of the PUWP CC 10th Plenary Meeting on the political and union pluralism.

The Executive Committee decided to establish intervention groups at the OPZZ and on the voivodship (provincial) level whose task will be to help factory union organisations in their conflicts with administration.

The OPZZ Executive Committee is strongly against lifting meat rations until its supply is bigger. It also finds the price increase rates quoted in the government documents submitted to the Sejm as unreliable because of the inflation threat.

Commenting on these resolutions Miodowicz quoted an opinion of a government member present at the committee meeting to the effect that: "The drafted documents are imperfect perhaps because the unions were slow in making the previous Cabinet go."

Speaking about the shape of the union pluralism he said that the trade unions will not be such as is or will be stated in the documents but the workers in their factories will decide about everything.

Miodowicz Resignation at CC Plenum

Alfred Miodowicz, who earlier than other leaders said he was ready to leave the Political Bureau during the 10th plenum,; explained it with the results of his polemics with Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski. He recalled a passage from his speech at the closed debate in which he warned against the threat of "coming to terms by the governing elite and the elite of the opposition." The prime minister, he said, rejected these arguments.

In this situation Miodowicz pointed to the fact that the proposed PUWP CC position on the political and union pluralism had not been earlier consulted with the grassroots of the OPZZ movement. Referring to the potential consequences of such a move, he said he was ready to leave the Political Bureau.

However, Miodowicz's proposal turned meaningless after the vote of confidence for party leadership members. I shall stay in the Political Bureau for as long as the OPZZ interests demands, he said. It was also said at the conference that not a single voice questioned the purposefulness of his being OPZZ lead.

Why Miodowicz voted Against

Miodowicz explained this again with the failure to consult the proposal with the unionists, the need to prepare the people and make necessary clarifications. He recalled previous OPZZ initiatives in this field, among them, taking part despite pressure—in a televised meeting with Lech Walesa.

Are you not afraid that a considerable part of the 7 million unionists now in the OPZZ will join the relegalized Solidarnosc in the future, was the question. Miodowicz replied: "Yes, of course, it is possible because people will have a choice. One can hardly expect all of them to choose the same. That would be against the nature of the Poles. It also can be that the number of unionists will drop because many will certainly prefer to stay out.

Walesa's Autobiography in OPZZ Publications

Answering a PAP question whether it is possible that the trade unions' publishing institute publishes Lech Walesa's autobiography as a book or it comes out in installments in the paper ZWIAZKOWIEC

(UNIONIST), Miodowicz drew attention to the fact that full information about the life of that well-known figure had never appeared on the book market.

"Pity, after all, that Lech doesn't feel like boosting [sentence incomplete as received]

Meeting Before TV Cameras Soon

There will be a TV debate probably before end of this month in which three representatives of the OPZZ and of the Solidarnosc will take part, Miodowicz told the journalists as he answered other questions. Economy and pluralism will be the topic. Three government representatives also said they are ready to take part in the meeting as observers. The exact date of the meeting depends on the Polish television.

Pluralism and Belt Tightening

Will you slow down the process of union pluralism because you voted against the said CC position, was the question. "I am in favour of its quick introduction," Miodowicz replied. But we must be aware of many threats that can come with pluralism, especially in its first phase. For example, combined with the government "belt tightening" proposals it can lead to hustling, escalation of material demands, etc. An example here can be, though the speaker stipulated that he had no detailed information, the present strike in Pabianice. No Polish family wishes its living standards to decline anymore. Therefore, the government decisions must be thought over and must not lead to a rapid drop of these standards, like it was in 1982, for example. The OPZZ wants to cooperate. We do not want to overthrow another government, we want to be its partners," OPZZ leader said.

OPZZ on Plenum Stance on Pluralism

LD1901232989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] The OPZZ Executive Committee devoted the 1st day of its 2-day deliberations chiefly to discussion of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum's stance on political and trade union pluralism. The motives guiding the Central Committee when adopting this stance were presented by Stanislaw Ciosek, who took part in the meeting. He said that the supreme issue is a realistic assessment of the forces in the country and the awareness that part of society is dissatisfied with the rate of change up to now. The backlog of many years must be made up and opportunities must be created to influence the country's fate and for people of all orientations to bear responsibility for it. Stanislaw Ciosek said that the Central Committee's stance is an offer addressed to the opposition and that he hopes that this offer will be accepted.

The trade unionists asked him many questions, not hiding their dissatisfaction and pointing out that as recently as October, the OPZZ Assembly had come out in favor of the principle of one trade union in one workplace. The trade union movement's final assessment of the Central Committee's stance will be drawn up by the OPZZ Council next week, after consultation with trade union organizations in workplaces.

Walesa Reacts, Comments on Plenum Resolution

Need for Accord Reviewed

AU2201160489 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Jan 89 p 3

[Article by Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki: "A Step Toward Accord"]

[Excerpts] The television debate between Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the OPZZ, the official trade unions that have been operating since 1982, and Lech Walesa, chairman of Solidarity—the trade union whose activities were suspended with the introduction of martial law on 31 December 1981 and was subsequently dissolved by the 8 October 1982 law—was the highlight of Poland's 1988 political season.

The 30 November debate was the result of a whole series of political events: The April-May strikes and then the strikes that took place in August, the minister of internal affairs' proposal of a "roundtable," that is, the starting up of talks between representatives of the state authorities and representatives of the political opposition; the authorities' announcement of a liberalization and democratization of political life in Poland; and an enormous expansion of the freedom of speech alongside a lack of opportunity for real political action. Today in Poland society is allowed to criticize a great deal—especially the past, and the present also, but to a lesser extent—but it is still permitted far too little with respect to political decisionmaking and controlling the actions of the authorities. Society often disbelieves this, but freedom of speech often marks the beginning of freedom of action. [passage omitted]

The general impression is that Walesa was the victor in the clash. However, if one reads a transcript of the debate, the difference between the validity of the arguments advanced by the two contestants is somewhat toned down. The spoken word has its special laws, and in a sharp exchange of views, Walesa is an exceptionally dangerous opponent. After all, no one appointed him the leader of the striking coastal workers in August 1980. His role emerged from the very form that relations between people took, which is something that comes about spontaneously.

I think that Walesa was in a better position, because he was less hemmed in, had much to gain but nothing to lose with his demands, and did not occupy an official post.

Above all, he said what most listeners considered to be the truth. This is because people in Poland want pluralism and, for a significant section of society, the word Solidarity is associated with the words freedom and democracy. Without closing his eyes to the mistakes that Solidarity made in 1980-81, Walesa said repeatedly that Solidarity would be the same organization, but it would not be the way it was before.

The November television debate can and should become an important step toward accord. Accord is essential for both sides. It is a categorical imperative, if we want to avoid dangerous incidents over the next few months and preserve and strengthen those social forces that will be able to have a restraining influence on sudden outbursts of dissatisfaction, which are understandable in our economic situation, and to preserve a sense of responsibility for the fate of the entire country.

Further on Plenum Resolution

LD1901203189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1808 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Report by correspondent Andrzej Trojanowski in Gdansk]

[Text] In the course of the Thursday meeting between Lech Walesa and foreign and domestic journalists many questions related to the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Lech Walesa stated that today it is too soon to talk about this matter, especially as the full text of the plenary resolution is only going to be published in Friday's press. Repeatedly asked by journalists, Lech Walesa replied in part:

[Begin Walesa recording] I repeat again, I cannot today talk about this as I do not know about these matters. At the same time, I do know something about it but we must clarify many things and make them more precise. I also think that this precision will come very soon. However, I think that most people in Poland think the same; that as people we do not have a choice, we must create the opportunity for everyone to work. Along the same lines, and at the same time, we must leave people their independence and respect them. For this is probably the only way we can build understanding. There are some fears, partly of ambition, partly of organization, lack of habit, and various other things. However, people's understanding of the necessity for this dominates even more. There really is [words indistinct].

Poland really needs accord, agreement; but an agreement that is not destructive, an agreement which rests on pluralism. The faster we come to an agreement the fewer losses we will suffer. I would not wish my son or my son's generation to again experience these things the way they are now, where things accumulate and then explode. I would not wish this. This must be understood and we must struggle for it. We must not be allowed to destroy this opportunity. [end recording]

[Trojanowski] This is how Lech Walesa reacted to the news that together with Alfred Miodowicz he has found himself among the winners of the (?Victor) Award granted to the 10 greatest television personalities of the year.

[Begin Walesa recording] Well that's a turnup for the books; that's a turnup for the books. Well, everyone likes awards and I do too, of course, but the problem is what this really means; how everything can be more easily worked out and changed and so on, and what the contrasts are. Here snow and there oranges; well down there snow and up there oranges [as heard]. Here on television some people are still upset, they see me as a spy, an agent. Others award me. Well, that's a turnup for the books; that's a turnup for the books. [end recording]

[Warsaw Television Service in Polish at 1615 GMT on 19 January adds the following: "Lech Walesa met reporters in St Bridget's church in Gdansk. Today's workers are not people who destroy machinery, he said. One must understand and trust them. I believe that Solidarity will be wise and sensible, but at the same time, it will not allow its independence to be taken away."]

Walesa Reacts to Plenum, Strikes

LD2001180789 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] Lech Walesa met the workers of the K 1 section of the Gdansk Shipyard today. The situation in the shipyard and among its workforce, the future of the trade union movement, and the 10th PZPR Plenum of the Central Committee were discussed. Immediately after the meeting I asked Lech Walesa to express his views on the Central Committee's stance on the issues of trade union and political pluralism which was published by the press today.

[Begin Walesa recording] This was a serious gathering and it seems that quite significant things were said. I cannot assume responsibility [for commenting] at the moment; I expect very soon that my organization, that is—the KKW [National Executive Committee], will make a statement. This is a more serious way of doing it.

I can say one thing: I think that, as far as the party is concerned, this is really a lot; as far as society is concerned, this is a bit too little. As a worker I would put it this way: that what is being expected today is just about covered, but there is no anticipation of the future; this is not here. But one can expect anything. I would like, on the basis of what has been made available, to look for solutions and for an agreement; that is my personal view. This is what I will propose to the KKW: On the basis of what is available, having checked the technical aspects, that on the basis of this we should try to look for an agreement in order to solve these problems which are a real burden for us. Will this be successful? Probably.

[Correspondent] The Pabianice [factory] is on strike. Today municipal transport in Elblag is not functioning. What next?

[Walesa] I did not know about it; I was in the shipyard and had no reports on this. This is the very chaos I fear, the chaos which will allow others to argue: This is the road to nowhere; we must get a grip on this. Then we are going in a straight line toward martial law, except this time a longer period—martial law for 5 years. [end recording]

Further on Strikes, Unrest

AU2001165289 Paris AFP in English
1646 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 20 (AFP)—A strike by textile workers in central Poland seeking pay hikes and the legalisation of Solidarity entered its fourth day Friday as hundreds of students demonstrated nationwide, calling for an end to the ban on the trade union.

Meanwhile tram and bus drivers struck briefly in Elblag, a city of 100,000 near Gdansk, the northern port city and birthplace of Solidarity.

They also called for the union's legalisation but returned to work after winning a pay raise of 100 zlotys (20 U.S. cents) an hour.

Some 500 textile workers meanwhile remained on strike at a factory in Pabianice, near the central city of Lodz.

The workers, mostly women, downed tools Tuesday demanding legalisation of Solidarity and a monthly pay hike of 25,000 zlotys (50 dollars)—about half the average wage in Poland.

Management has offered 14,000 zlotys, saying they cannot afford more and threatening to close down the plant.

Solidarity leader Lech Walesa Thursday predicted possible fresh labour unrest, citing the falling standard of living after steep price increases in food and essential services. Since the beginning of the year, sugar has gone up 27 per cent, petrol 58 per cent, postal services 40 per cent and cars 100 to 300 per cent.

"Poles are fed up and I can't rule out the possibility of strikes breaking out," Mr. Walesa said.

Alfred Miodowicz, head of the official OPZZ trade unions, also predicted "a new wave of social unrest", speaking at a news conference Friday in Warsaw.

"Workers have turned into radicals" after the Communist Party leadership Wednesday passed a resolution calling for the re-legalisation of Solidarity under certain conditions, said Mr. Miodowicz, who also belongs to the party's politburo.

The resolution, which attached stiff conditions to the union's eventual legalisation including a two-year no-strike clause, had caused "trouble, surprise, discontent and nervousness in factories where the situation is very tense".

Hundreds of students meanwhile took to the streets of major Polish cities, calling on the authorities to re-legalise an association of theirs along with Solidarity, university sources said.

The peaceful demonstrations, supporting the banned Independent Association of Students (NZS) and Solidarity, were held in streets and university campuses in the southern city of Krakow, Wroclaw in the southwest, Lublin in the southeast and Bialystok in the northeast, sources said.

Government spokesman Jerzy Urban has indicated recently that the NZS might once again be legalised.

Polish leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski said on Thursday, after a stormy meeting of the party's central committee the day before, that moves to legalise Solidarity would be "negotiable" at promised round-table talks between the government and opposition.

Roundtable 'Conditionally' Welcomed

AU2001182789 Paris AFP in English
1821 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 20 (AFP)—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said on Friday he was prepared to take part in round-table talks with the Polish authorities, responding to a call by the head of state, Wojciech Jaruzelski.

However Mr. Walesa told journalists at his home town of Gdansk, in northern Poland, that before replying officially to Gen. Jaruzelski's proposal, he would need to consult other national leaders of the banned trade union.

Gen. Jaruzelski said on Thursday that the legalisation of Solidarity and of other trade union organisations was "negotiable" within the framework of round-table talks on democratisation to be organised as soon as possible.

A meeting of Solidarity leaders was to take place in Gdansk this weekend, Mr. Walesa said.

He said a resolution adopted on Wednesday by the Central Committee of the ruling United Polish Workers Party (POUP) for the introduction of political and trade union pluralism on certain conditions had "created possibilities".

However "some of my colleagues do not feel that these possibilities are sufficient", he warned.

The Solidarity leader acknowledged that the resolution was "a great deal for the POUP" but warned that it was also "too little if you take into account the aspirations of society". He said the POUP's new attitude was "necessary" but would be meaningless if not translated into action.

Mr. Walesa said he favoured agreement among all the forces in the country to resolve its problems, but said he did not know whether such agreement could be achieved.

Meanwhile, informed sources said that workers at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk where Mr. Walesa is himself employed were to hold a meeting outside the management building to present new wage demands and call for details regarding the winding down of the shipyard announced on December 1.

And the chairman of the official trade union organisation OPZZ, Alfred Miodowicz, called for a live television debate by the end of January between three OPZZ representatives and three members of the Solidarity leadership.

Raises Demanded at Shipyard

AU2101142489 Paris AFP in English
1412 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 21 (AFP)—A tense atmosphere reigned Saturday at the Gdansk shipyards, as 4,000 workers, with Solidarity union leader Lech Walesa in the forefront, demanded wage increases at a rally in front of management offices, a union source there said.

During the meeting, lasting more than an hour, the workers firmly rejected a raise of 50 zlotys (10 U.S. cents) an hour offered by deputy shipyard manager Z. Deptala, who spoke to the workers.

They also demanded information quickly on the future of the shipyards, which are slated to be closed down in two years. They said they were ready to "defend our shipyards" if the government tries to adopt "unacceptable solutions". The yards were the birthplace of the banned Solidarity union.

Mr. Walesa did not speak, but the union source said he had advised Solidarity leaders to persuade the workers to avoid strike threats. Shipyard Solidarity leaders Alojzy Szablewski and Marian Moczko urged the workers to "be patient" in the light of the very difficult Polish economic situation.

The meeting broke up quietly after management and union leaders agreed to meet next Thursday to continue negotiations.

Analysts said that Mr. Walesa clearly wanted to avoid having strike threats compromise the round table between the authorities and the opposition that chief of state General Wojciech Jaruzelski wants to hold as soon as possible.

Readiness for Dialogue

LD2201144189 Hamburg DPA in German
1403 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The Executive Committee of the banned Solidarity trade union (KKW) decided on Sunday to start negotiations with the government concerning the future of the trade union and other important problems as soon as possible. After a conference held in Gdansk under the chairmanship of Lech Walesa the body published a statement saying that Solidarity considered the Central Committee document, adopted in the middle of last week, on the readmission of trade union pluralism and the legalization of Solidarity a "fundamental step in the direction toward social dialogue."

Solidarity was hoping that relevant resolutions by state institutions would follow. It was noted that "the opportunity for negotiations on Solidarity and other national affairs" had now been created. Solidarity expected the state authorities would respect trade union freedoms according to international conventions. Solidarity was prepared to adhere, in the higher interest of Poland, to the law and trade union statutes.

The program and composition of the leadership of the new Solidarity will have to be determined by the members themselves. Changes to the law are important so that conflicts may be settled and compromises reached legally. Lech Walesa said, in conclusion, it was still to early to be "excessively pleased." The preparations and contacts between the two sides for roundtable talks were continuing.

Solidarity Statement Cited

LD2201154289 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1500 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] The Polish Press Agency has reported a statement by the National Executive Commission (KKW) of Solidarity.

The KKW of Solidarity regards the resolution of the PZPR Central Committee plenum on restoration of trade union pluralism and legalization of Solidarity to be a fundamental step toward social dialogue. We expect the resolution to be followed by appropriate decisions by state bodies. We note that possibilities for negotiations on Solidarity and national matters have arisen.

Solidarity is expecting that the political and administrative authorities will respect the principles of trade union freedom defined by the conventions of the International Labor Organization. For our part we express willingness

to operate in accordance with the legal order and our union's rules, in the interests of Poland's superior interests. Solidarity's program, composition of its officers, and the organizational structure will be decided in a democratic manner by its members. We expect all sides in the public arena to place the interests of the country above all particular interests. It is necessary to correct the legal regulations so that it is possible to resolve conflict situations in a lawful and conciliatory manner.

Poland's dramatic economic, material, and ecological situation is a universally known fact. The causes of this state are inherent in the present system of power. Solidarity has for many years been demanding profound economic and political changes. Now there arises a possibility of establishing wide cooperation in the struggle against the crisis. This requires an agreement for a program of reforms, a plan of action and a method of public control. The costs of the reforms can no longer reduce the population's standard of living. It is necessary to eliminate waste and review the state budget expenditures.

Solidarity welcomes with satisfaction the announcement of politic pluralism. We favor restoring political freedoms and a democratic organization of public life, of groups' and communities' freedom to organize, genuine independence of the courts and judges, freedom of speech, and free access to mass media.

The Solidarity Executive Committee believes negotiations should begin as soon as possible. Their nature should be objective and specific. Public opinion should be exhaustively informed about their progress.

That was a statement of the Solidarity Executive Committee carried by the Polish Press Agency.

Solidarity Statement Viewed

LD2201173589 Warsaw PAP in English 1648 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Gdansk, Jan. 22--The National Executive Committee of the independent, self-governed trade union (KKW NSZZ) Solidarity has issued the following statement here today:

1.

The National Executive Committee of the independent, self-governed trade union Solidarity regards the resolution of the PUWP CC plenary meeting on reinstating trade union pluralism and legalisation of the NSZZ Solidarity as a major step towards social dialogue. We expect that the resolution will be followed by appropriate decisions of state organs. We note that a possibility has emerged for negotiations over the Solidarity and the country's affairs.

2.

NSZZ Solidarity expects the political and administrative authorities to respect the principles of union freedom defined by the conventions of the International Labour Organisation. On our part we express the willingness to act in accordance with the legal order and with the statute of our union, in the spirit of Poland's supreme interest. The programme, composition of its authorities, and structural organisation of Solidarity will be democratically determined by its members. We expect that all the sides appearing on the public scene value the national weal above any particular interests. The law must be corrected in such a way as to permit solving conflicts legally and amicably.

3.

Poland's dramatic economic situation, material and ecological, is a well-known fact. The reasons of this situation lie in the hitherto system of government. Solidarity has for many years demanded sweeping economic and political reforms. An opportunity is now emerging to set up a broad cooperation against crisis. This requires the acceptance of a reform programme, a plan of work, and a method for social control. The costs of the reforms cannot continue ruining the people's living standards. Putting an end to squander and a revision of expenditure from the state budget are necessary.

4.

NSZZ Solidarity welcomes with pleasure the promise of political pluralism. We favour the restoration of political freedom and democratic organisation of public life, the freedom for groups and comunities to organise themselves, a true independence of courts and judges, the freedom of expression and a free access to mass media.

5.

The National Executive Committee of the NSZZ Solidarity believes that negotiations should start as soon as possible. They should be businesslike and concrete, and public opinion should be fully informed about their course.

Poles 'Condemned' to Accord

LD2201193489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1648 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Here is what Lech Walesa said today to those gathered in St. Bridget's Church in Gdansk.

[Begin Walesa recording] Dear ladies and gentlemen. I would want that there not be too much euphoria. In fact, everything is still possible. Certain opportunities can be seen. Hope can be seen. It can be seen that Poles can—that there is an opportunity—that Poles can really, in a pluralist, freedom-oriented [wolnosciowy] way solve Polish problems. Is this true? Is this possible? In essence, yes. Very shortly, this will all transpire.

I must go now. We don't want to [words indistinct]. We reply through stretching out a hand, for a hand is stretched out from the other side. Will something result from this? We are, we have said more than once, condemned [skazani] to accord. Agreement builds, lack of agreement destroys. We on the other hand must remain ourselves, we must remain free, self-governing; we must have our organizations. If all of this becomes possible then the compromises on matters that are obvious will also be possible. I deeply believe in you. Just as I always believed so I believe today that we will take advantage of this opportunity. And if it transpires that this is a mirage, then we will continue to struggle for that which is most important and that which is most necessary for all of us. I wish you all the best and will be seeing you next Sunday, when I will say more about this. [applause] [end recording]

Rakowski Speaks on Political Situation

AU2301101289 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 2009 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Interview with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, by Geri Nasarski and Klaus Bresser in Bonn; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Nasarski] And now to Mr Rakowski, the Communist head of government of 37 million Poles, who think less of communism than ever before. With the rate of inflation at 70 percent, and DM70 billion in foreign debts, your country urgently requires reforms. To be able to implement these reforms you even threatened to resign as the premier of your party in a dramatic night session last week. Are you leading the country with—and this is unprecedented in a socialist country—are you leading the country with the courage of despair?

[Rakowski] Yes, there is no doubt about that. You have mentioned the problems and they are really severe problems, but I am of the opinion that progress can be achieved in all fields, even though it is not only courage that is required, but also determination to overcome the difficulties—and this is my motto, as it were.

[Nasarski] After 40 years of Communism in Poland there are still lines in front of the stores and empty shelves inside. Has the Communist doctrine, which promised man paradise, failed?

[Rakowski] I do not think so. I regard our present situation in Poland as part of the historic changes that are taking place in the socialist sphere and, considering the past 40 years, I strictly oppose speaking of failure. You must not forget that Poland was an underdeveloped country before the war. You must not forget either that we do not forget the past in this conversation. The war completely destroyed Poland, and everything we have done deserves great respect from us all. I think that the problems we are facing now are a result of the fast development, and this fast development took place in the seventies and eighties. Therefore, our ideas of socialism have not failed. I do not speak about communism, because this is something different, an idea that was never implemented and will not be implemented in the next few decades either. I speak about the socialist system which has developed in the way and in the context that were provided by the developments of history.

[Bresser] Mr Rakowski, the life of this socialist system and your personal destiny depend on the cooperation with the opposition in your country, which is increasingly becoming stronger, in other words, from the relationship with the outlawed Solidarity trade union. In order to overcome this crisis will you not have to cede some power to Lech Walesa and his followers?

[Rakowski] I do not think so. First, I am far from ceding power. However, I have a feeling that I belong to a generation that has a program for overcoming the crises. I do not think that our opponents have such a clear program or, in other words, as a result of recent developments it has become quite obvious that the program of Walesa and his followers is no different from ours. What does it mean to have a program for the Poland of today? To carry out economic reforms, which not only requires means but also sacrifices, and then also reforms in the fields of social life and political life. However, all this is well under way. Of course, this is my opinion. I ask myself this question very often: What alternative program can one offer? I do not think that there is one. Of course, there is the question of how far democracy can be extended. Certainly, this also depends on the economic situation, without question. Anyway, I think that the opposition in Poland... [Rakowski changes thought] by the way, they admit that they do not have any other alternative.

[Bresser] Do you believe that Lech Walesa will accept your ideas?

[Rakowski] I think so, yes. I believe that Lech Walesa, like all of us, has learned a lot. We have covered a long distance, and on the basis of Lech Walesa's statements, I see that we could not only find a common language, but we could even find ourselves in a common camp with the aim of overcoming this crisis.

[Nasarski] At the dramatic Central Committee meeting, you nevertheless made conditions to the Solidarity trade union. It would have to remain an integral part of socialism, it could not become a party, it could not accept money from abroad, and it could not go on strike, you said.

[Rakowski] I did not say it this way. I only asked the question: what really does Solidarity intend to become—a trade union association or a political party, let us say, an opposition political party? That surely is a difference. This difference represents consequences for public life.

So, I did not make any conditions in the sense of what Solidarity must be. I just asked them what they want to be. That is a different thing.

[Nasarski] But you mentioned a sort of probation period of 2 years.

[Rakowski] Exactly.

[Nasarski] During this period Solidarity will have to keep to the Constitution.

[Rakowski] Just a moment. I said that this will be a probation period of 2 years for all concerned. Regrettably that has been ignored by your press and, I am afraid, also by television. I said that all political forces, all parties, as well as the trade unions and other organizations are to conclude a pact for 2 years, in order to practice the idea of partnership—the idea I proposed in 1980. These are not conditions solely for Solidarity.

[Nasarski] Yet Solidarity still is illegal, and the parties ....

[Rakowski] Well, but we clearly said in the Central Committee that the State Council must repeal the clause banning trade union pluralism. As soon as that is done, Solidarity will work as a normal organization.

[Bresser] As a party that would represent competition for the Communist Party?

[Rakowski] Yes. If so, then yes, all right. However, I want to know what it is to be. The leading personalities of the past 7 years who were and are still committed to the Solidarity trade union have dealt only with politics, they were not trade unionists—I mean, Gieremek, Mazowiecki, those who define the guidelines for the Solidarity trade union. Now the question is open whether it will be a trade union federation. All right. However, if they want to be an opposition party, I would like to know this, too, because as the head of our government I have to [words indistinct] my policy to this practical situation....

[Bresser, interrupting] Mr Rakowski, to be even specific about this: Is the Solidarity trade union free to become a trade union and, at the same time, does it have the opportunity to become a party? Would you permit this?

[Rakowski] Have you ever seen such trade unions in your world, that is, when the trade union federation also plays the role of a political party?

[Bresser] No, there is no such thing here.

[Rakowski] There you are.

[Bresser] According to your ideas, will it not be permitted to become a party?

[Rakowski] No; all right, if they want to be a party, they should openly say this.

[Bresser] And what would you do then?

[Rakowski] If they were to present themselves as a political opposition party, I would do what every government with an opposition would do. That is it.

[Bresser] That is to say, you could envisage the Solidarity trade union as an opposition party in the future?

[Rakowski] I can envisage it. However, this means that it will not be a trade union federation.

[Bresser] Only the one thing or the other?

[Rakowski] Well, I believe that this is a very burning question, not only for me, but also for those who influenced the image of the Solidarity trade union yesterday and are still influencing it in some way today. This is actually no concern of mine. This is, above all, their concern. That is all.

[Bresser] Which course will Poland take? That is the question. Today you are talking about a coalition of reformers....

[Rakowski] Yes.

[Bresser] ...you even say that a socialist parliamentary system, a parliamentary democracy has to be created. Does this mean that—and this is the final question on these issues—there will be a competition between the Communist Party and opposition parties before the next parliamentary elections?

[Rakowski] This is an open question. We have suggested two possibilities, that is, open competition, which means open political struggle, or, after all, preparing a, so to speak, common platform at the roundtable. This would mean that there would not be a hard political struggle in the period before the elections. We can—this is our opinion—reach an agreement at the roundtable. However, as regards the contents, because you mentioned socialist democracy, I believe that we will have to regard the development in Poland in a far wider context. That is, the entire socialist formation has entered into a period of enormous radical changes. Today it is even hard to say or find a clear answer to the question of which way or in which direction this formation will develop in the next few years.

I am of the opinion that—I refer very often to historical experiences [sentence as heard]. During the decades after the French Revolution, the French were searching for this image, which they finally found. There have been different waves of...

[Bresser, interrupting] Is this not also the end of an ideology, the end of Communism with its claim to be absolute?

[Rakowski] I do not think so. I believe that, as a formation, ideological or political, more of a political formation, over many decades we have regarded Communism, or the idea of Communism, as a dogma. However, such things simply happen in the history of mankind. I am not speaking of the end of an ideology, I can say that I speak of the end of the ideas of Communism, but this would actually have to be discussed in an extensive lecture on history, for which I do not have the time. I know that there are such conceptions, such ideas that Communism has come to an end. It is not the end, it is the next stage. Our formation, our ideological formation has entered a new stage of development. That is all.

[Nasarski] You want reform because the economy urgently needs it. This requires a population with initiative, with a readiness to share responsibility, with creativity. How do you think you can achieve this after 40 years of a controlled economy and with people who are not used to making their own decisions?

[Rakowski] Good question. How can we achieve that? Well, what we call economic reform and everything that this comprises is to create space for a new attitude to the economy, it is also to provide ample space for individual initiatives, and so on. I know that this is a process that requires many years, and I have repeatedly said so. For the first time, I now have the opportunity to say it to German viewers. After a system has functioned for 40 years, functioned in a certain way, it is not exactly a simple task to abolish such a system and everything that is connected with it, and to create new social and economic conditions. In my opinion, this means that it will take at least one generation to replace this system, which is undoubtedly obsolete now, with a new one. It simply takes time. The worst thing is that time cannot be bought, there are no shops that sell it. Anything can be bought but not time.

[Bresser] An obsolete system, that is what you call it. In earlier days you were able to control the Polish population with the threat: Keep quiet or we call in the Russians. Since Gorbachev came to power, you can no longer do this. Will this situation continue as it is now? Do you believe in the success of Gorbachev?

[Rakowski] I do, however Gorbachev also needs [illegible] time. This is the dilemma. Since we live today, we want everything to change very quickly, this is only natural. However, unfortunately it cannot be achieved by artificial means. I think that Gorbachev will also—by the way he is facing great difficulties, difficult problems—[Rakowski changes thought] that the USSR will also take many years to reform and modernize its system. Besides, as far as we are concerned, or as far as the USSR is concerned, the historical past has always played an important role. I do have the hope, a profound hope that Gorbachev, or let us say this line and this orientation, will become stronger in the next few years. However, one must not expect tangible success to be achieved quickly.

[Nasarski] Almost all Poles want the country to open up to the West. Where does your country stand in your opinion, in other words, where does your country belong?

[Rakowski] [Words indistinct] Poland has always been a country where different cultures crossed, where different philosophies crossed; it has been a mixture of Eastern and Western culture. I do not think that the Poles are confronted with the crucial problem of deciding to what part of Europe we belong to. After all, we are precisely in central Europe. That was so in the past centuries, and it will remain so. It seems to me that we are part of a formation which politically or ideologically faces the Western formation. However, regarding its culture or philosophy, Poland is Poland, and I think that it would be a waste of time to ponder the question as to where Poland belongs.

[Bresser] Mr Prime Minister, it is typical of the "What Now?" program that we give you some catchwords and ask you to answer quite spontaneously. The first catchword is the Berlin Wall.

[Rakowski] The Berlin Wall is part of a specific political situation which has developed in this framework.

[Nasarski] Compromise.

[Rakowski] Compromise? An attempt to have some understanding for my partner, and the expectation that he understands me, too.

[Bresser] Laziness.

[Rakowski] A negative attitude to life and its problems.

[Nasarski] Power.

[Rakowski] Power? A difficult thing.

[Bresser] Enmity.

[Rakowski] Enmity? How to express it? It is part of life.

[Nasarski] Josef Stalin.

[Rakowski] A dictator.

[Bresser] Helmut Kohl.

[Rakowski] Helmut Kohl is a politician.

[Nasarski] Helmut Kohl will visit Poland this summer. Could you imagine that Federal President von Weizsaecker will speak in your country on 1 September?

[Rakowski] Actually, everything is conceivable in politics. However, it depends on the situation.

[Nasarski] Do you believe that there will be a chance that relations between our two countries will be less strained following 1 September?

[Rakowski] I think that of course 1 September is an important date. However, regarding this problem, it seems to me that from now on—or beginning in 1970 when we concluded the treaty—we can make large steps to shape German-Polish relations with a view to the future rather than to the past. We must not forget the past, but we must think about the future. I think that very good and substantial opportunities have been developing to consolidate and improve these relations.

[Bresser] One last question, Mr Rakowski. Relations between the Federal Republic and Poland stagnated in recent years. Now you have been in Bonn for 3 days. What expectations are you taking home?

[Rakowski] I am convinced that, together with the federal chancellor, we will make the right decisions. Today I am more convinced than I was before my visit to Bonn.

[Bresser] And now the very last question: You have talked about elections, also about the possibility of an opposition party being formed in your country. Are you sure that the PZPR will win the forthcoming parliamentary elections?

[Rakowski] I am even very sure of it. I have arguments for it.

[Bresser] Thank you very much, Mr Prime Minister.

[Rakowski] You are welcome.

Czarzasty Answers Readers' Questions

AU2201173289 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 Jan 89 pp 1, 2

["AG"- Signed Report on a phone-in session given by Zygmunt Czarzasty, PZPR Central Committee secretary, at RZECZPOSPOLITA's offices on 11 January: "Understanding the Sense of Joint Participation"]

[Excerpts] Zygmunt Czarzasty, who was elected a PZPR Central Committee secretary during the first half of the PZPR Central Committee plenum, which was held last December, answered questions during a 2-hour phone-in session held at our offices on 11 January. The phone rang almost continuously. Readers who wanted to speak to our visitor had already started phoning in the morning, and many people even phoned after the session was over and asked for their questions to be passed on, hoping that they would be answered at a later date. [passage omitted]

[Question] Recently, we have been talking openly about the mistakes that the party has made. Should the party not reduce its influence on government?

[Czarzasty] Do you think that there is some force other than the reformed party that could get the country out of the current situation? Government is the affair of the people's highest sovereign institutions, that is—the Sejm and the government. The party, on the other hand, does not want to govern. It acts as an organizer, a representative not of the workers class, but of the world of labor, that is to say, it represents everyone in Poland who earns a living by working, regardless of whether it involves one's hands or one's mind. The party articulates and synthesizes working people's thoughts, and it wants to remain in this kind of strategic role. It will leave operational decisions up to those at every level who have been appointed to make them.

[Question] In what direction should the party evolve in order to become a real guarantor of the reforms?

[Czarzasty] At this moment in time, when the party and the state are going through a period of profound changes and reforms, with the party standing at the forefront of change, it would be a good thing if society, particularly that sensitive part of society that wishes Poland well, were to support the party's efforts. Who else, apart from the party, can be a guarantor of the reforms? Of course, what I am thinking of is a party that is reforming, that is setting goals that are in tune with public feeling, and is synthesizing people's thinking. That is the kind of party that the people needs. One should not fail to use an opportunity when the right moment has arrived.

[Question] My name is Iskrzak, and I am phoning from Katowice. There are two matters that I would like to raise. First, how do you view Stalinism? Second, how did Stalinism influence Poland? When can I expect an answer?

[Czarzasty] Immediately. You do not want to wait?

[Question] I would like to, but I am phoning from Katowice and the call would be too expensive.

[Czarzasty] I would strongly suggest that you study the material for the second half of the 10th Central Committee plenum. We are going to be talking about de-stalinization in Poland, about paying tribute to the victims and, in broader terms, about what Stalinism is. This is because Stalinism not only means crimes and the abuse of power. It also means the creation of arbitrary, totalitarian institutions that are highly undemocratic and run counter to tradition. There will be a very serious debate and discussion on this subject. As the party of the Polish people and the spokesman of its interests, we are determined to see the process of de-Stalinization through to its completion. [passage omitted]

Polish Pro-Opposition Priest Found Murdered

AU2201140289 Paris AFP in English
1203 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 22 (AFP)—A 74-year-old Polish priest, who had angered the authorities by his outspoken support for the opposition, was found battered to death in his presbytery Saturday, a senior aide to the archbishop of Warsaw said Sunday.

The blood-spattered and bruised body of Father Stefan Niedzielak was discovered by churchgoers who went to look for him after he failed to turn up for early morning mass, Father Zdzislaw Krol, the archbishop's chancellor said.

The priest was found in the presbytery, which is opposite the church. According to eyewitnesses, he was lying on a couch, with "blood all over his face". Further examination revealed bruises on his body, particularly on one leg, Father Krol said.

The body has been removed for autopsy at the city forensic medical institute. The funeral of Father Niedzielak will take place on Thursday.

Those who found him said the presbytery door was open and showed no signs of having been forced. They said nothing had been taken except a cardboard box containing silver cutlery. They said it was probable the priest had been killed late on Friday because his bedding had been turned down as if he were preparing to get into bed.

Father Krol, who is taking over Borromee parish, said Father Niedzielak was a strong supporter of the banned Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) organisation and was regarded by the authorities as an "extremist".

Father Krol said that the day before the murder, Father Niedzielak had confided to him that he had been threatened. "They'll get me," he is quoted as saying.

The Primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp on Saturday called the killing "a new tragedy and a shock for the Polish Church."

Other church figures drew a parallel with the 1984 murder of Father Jerzy Popieluszko by members of the Polish political police.

They noted that a young founder of a new movement, the Young Catholic Students organisation, had been beaten up by unknown assailants on the day Father Niedzielak was murdered.

An opinion shared by many senior churchmen is that the murder is a "political provocation" designed to scupper Church mediation in the search for a political consensus in Poland.

The Catholic hierarchy has played a key role in bringing together the opposition and the government and can claim to have contributed to the leadership's recent move to relax the ban on Solidarity union.

Warsaw Notes Death of Priest; Murder Suspected

LD2201194789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1800 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Yesterday morning Parish Priest Father Stefan Niedzialak was found dead in the presbytery of St. Karol Boromeusz CHurch on Powazkowska Street. There is a great deal to indicate that the priest was the victim of a robbery. The injuries he sustained lead to the belief that murder has been committed. An intensive investigation is under way and expert evaluations are being made in order to explain the circumstances of this tragedy.

Krakow Official Receives Student Demonstrators

LD1901223389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
2200 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] In several Polish cities student demonstrations have again been organized by the illegal Independent Student's Union. They took place in Lublin, Krakow, Bialystok, and Wroclaw. The attempts undertaken in the student milieu to disturb public order are worrying as they are in contradiction with the ever more visible and dominant sector in our country who are seeking social calm and national accord. A delegation of the students who demonstrated in Krakow was received by Jozef Zajewicz, first secretary of the Krakow Party Committee. He stated that the committee is closed to no one. He informed the students about the standpoint taken by the 10th plenum in relation to pluralism and he said that there exist real chances of the roundtable taking place. Leaving the building of the Krakow Party Committee the students said that they had not expected such a reception.

Transport Strike Breaks Out in Elblag

AU2001143489 Paris AFP in English
1418 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 20 (AFP)—Bus and tram conductors went on strike Friday in the northern Polish town of Elblag, demanding pay hikes and the legalisation of Solidarity, trade union sources said in the nearby port city of Gdansk.

Transport management has rejected the demands and is refusing to negotiate with an ad hoc strike committee set up by activists from the banned independent trade union, the sources said.

Elblag has a population of more than 100,000 and is near Gdansk, Solidarity's birthplace.

Transport Workers, Management Begin Talks

LD2001174389 Gdansk Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] This morning buses and trams were not running in the streets of Elblag because the Voivodship Transport Enterprise (WPK) workforce is on strike. It presented 11 demands to the enterprise management for, inter alia, a Z100 per hour increase in the personal grade rates and a change in the rules for calculating bonuses and other payments for work on days off. Talks have begun with the management. A workforce delegation also went to Deputy Voivoda Zdzislaw (?was), who promised to act as mediator in those talks. They were resumed about 1400 hours. Also at that time, the first buses and trams began to run in Elblag. At 1630 hours, the presidium of the Voivodship People's Council began meeting and is now discussing the WPK's economic situation.

Sejm Session Set To Convene 30-31 Jan

LD2001152889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] The Sejm Presidium has decided to hold the 42d Sejm session on 30-31 January. The agenda includes a report by the Economic Plan, Budget and Finance Commission on the draft consolidation plan for the national economy for the years 1989-1990 and also a report by this commission on the draft law on changes in the national socioeconomic plan for the years 1986-1990.

Bank Refuses Credit to Strike-Hit Plant

LD1901131989 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Marek Mamot report from Pabianice]

[Text] [Mamot] The employees of the industrial fabrics factory are on strike for the third day. Their demands have not changed. Here is Krzysztof Koscian, member of the Strike Committee.

[Begin recording] [Koscian] The issue here is demand one and two, that is, for a pay rise of Z20,000 and introduction of a supplement [words indistinct]. We are ready to strike to the very end, even if this bankrupts the factory. The workforce refuses to agree to any concessions.

[Mamot] But this means that you are cutting your own throats.

[Koscian] There are many enterprises which would employ us right now. I think that one could reorganize this factory. If our management is incapable of offering us anything, then let someone else take us over, maybe something will change then, and we will start producing something that will be profitable to our factory.

[Mamot] But you must be aware that every day of the strike is producing losses amounting to about Z53 million.

[Koscian] Is the management not aware of this? This money could be spent on wages. Why then are they accepting such losses and refusing to increase our wages?

[Unidentified voice] This is a misunderstanding; these losses are daily losses in production, the loss of profits is about Z4.8 million a day. Apart from this, the money available for wages is calculated differently.

[Mamot] This is Zbigniew Borasinski, manager of the economic department of the enterprise.

[Borasinski] In general one can say that the system of financing of enterprises is quite complex, and not fully understood by each employee.

[Mamot] I have just spoken to the Strike Committee, and they said that they were ready to strike, even to the point of bankrupting the enterprise.

[Borasinski] As far as this goes, I have just returned from the bank, a section of the Universal Economic Bank in Pabianice, in Lodz. The bank has just refused us credit. So one can say that the process of liquidation has begun. [end recording]

Green Party Founders Hold News Conference

LD2201232789 Warsaw PAP in English 2050 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Lodz, Jan. 22—The first press conference of the all-Poland board and spokesmen from some regions of this country, who define themselves as founders of Polish Green Party, was held here today.

The gathered presented the party's statutes and manifesto which describe it as an organization of ecological, democratic and peaceful character, aiming at elimination of dangers threatening natural environment and at observance of the rules of natural environment protection.

The "Greens" intend to base their activity on federation of autonomous groups dealing with their regional problems.

Intellectuals Establish New Association

LD2101193489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] In Krakow a meeting to found the Kuznica Association has been held. The association's goal is to draw together Polish leftist intellectuals. Hieronim Kubiak was elected association chairman.

It was decided that the Kuznica Association will convene to discuss its platform soon after the roundtable discussions conclude and the Sejm electoral platform is established.

Ceausescu Congratulates Bush on Investiture

AU2001194989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1944 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 20/01/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, sent the new President of the United States of America the following telegram:

Dear Mr President,

Your investiture with the high office of President of the United States of America is a pleasant opportunity to convey you cordial congratulations and the best wishes of good health and full success in your highly responsible activity.

I believe that, through joint efforts and working on the basis of the Romanian-U.S. understandings and in the spirit of the principles of full equality of rights, national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, we will collaborate productively in the years to follow to expand and diversify our political, economic, technical and scientific relations, our links in other areas of mutual interest. I believe that we will expand our countries' cooperation for the resolution of the major international problems, for a policy of detente, disarmament and peace, for all peoples' freedom, progress and welfare.

SCINTEIA Views 'Inadequate' CSCE Document

AU2001142589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0932 GMT 20 Jan 89

["At the Close of the Vienna Meeting: Romania Declares Firmly for a United Europe of Free and Independent Nations, of Peace and Collaboration—article published by SCINTEIA newspaper of 20 January"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] The proceedings of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), held in Vienna for two years, concluded.

As was announced, during the final meeting of the representatives of the 35 participating states, Romania's stance, President Nicolae Ceausescu's outlook and considerations on security building and the strengthening of cooperation in Europe, as an integrant part of a lasting peace and of the development of manysided collaboration throughout the world, were read.

The building of a united Europe, where, against the background of respect for the diversity of social systems, guarantees of peace, full security and productive collaboration for all the nations on the continent, as free and sovereign nations, are secured, has always been a prime target of Socialist Romania's foreign policy. According to that stance in principle, Romania made an internationally acknowledged contribution to the organization of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in 1975, to the elaboration of the Helsinki Final Act, as well as to the subsequent efforts aimed at carrying into effect the major goals set in that historic document.

Romania attended the proceedings of the Vienna meeting in that same spirit, inspired by the wish to join in the efforts aimed at helping the document worked out by that forum open further prospects to the relations among the participating states, to the process of building up European security. In that respect, President Nicolae Ceausescu highlighted not long ago the principled, constructive requirement for the resolutions of the meeting "to lead to a Europe united in its diversity of social systems, a Europe of free and independent nations, where the social system, the aspirations, traditions and work of every nation should be observed".

As is known, the declaration of the Socialist Republic of Romania, released a few days ago, considers that, in broad lines, the final document of the meeting contains a number of major provisions, whose translation into fact will be able to contribute to confidence-building, to the strengthening of security and peace, to the expansion of collaboration in Europe.

Romania thus attaches great significance to the reassertion of the need for a strict, unflinching observance, in interstate relations, of the principles enshrined in the Helsinki Final Act. Furthermore, the special importance should be underscored of the understanding reached on the institution of a new forum for negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe and for the resumption of talks on the adoption of further measures of confidence- and security-building, as well as of provisions conducive to the development of cooperation in the economic, technical, scientific and cultural areas, as well as in other fields of mutual interest.

However, the remark should be stressed that the final document of the meeting failed to include, as firm pledges on the part of the states, provisions regarding essential, vital problems of concern to broad social segments on the continent, the conditions of a dignified, civilized life. As a matter of fact, from the very start of the Vienna meeting emphasis was placed on the tendencies of a number of countries to divert the debates exclusively towards collateral aspects of the extensive social-humanitarian questions, to divert attention from the serious phenomena that adversely affect millions of people in the respective countries. The rostrum of the meeting was frequently employed—during the final meeting included—for tendentious, rhetoric exercises aimed at giving a distorted image of realities in a number of socialist countries in an attempt at weaking the positions of socialism. It is only obvious that like approach, which is clearly denigrating in character, runs counter to the Helsinki spirit, to the spirit of understanding and collaboration among states, in general.

The Vienna meeting, just like the previous all-European meetings, was not intended—nor could it have been intended—to analyse and discuss the situation in one country or another. As is well known, the very process of building up European security, which was initiated by the Helsinki Conference of 1975, starts from the fundamental prerequisite that states of great diversity coexist in Europe—states that differ in point of social system, allegiance or their territory, their development level, their historical past, their traditions and the way of living and being of the respective peoples. In consideration of that diversity, the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe pledged to work, through joint efforts, "taking full account of the originality and diversity of the their stances and viewpoints", as the Helsinki Final Act pointed out, for confidence and security-building on the continent, for the development of understanding and collaboration, in the interest of each and everyone, in the interest of general progress. It is that constructive stance that Romania has constantly taken throughout all these years. It was on like constructive stance that Romania placed at the Vienna meeting.

However, the fact should be underscored that, as compared with the Helsinki Final Act, which meant an important moment in the political life of Europe and of the entire mankind, the document of the Vienna meeting is a step backwards, owing to the attempt at changing and distorting the principles enshrined by the all-European conference of 1975, whose document was signed by the heads of state or government of the participating states.

At the reunion the preoccupation did not always prevail—as it would have been desirable—to find with joint effort the most adequate answers to the real problems concerning the peoples in the continent. Quite the contrary, attempts by some participants to assume the role to teach lessons, to grant the "fine conduit" [as received] certificate have found their way. As far as Romania is concerned, as also stressed during the final meeting of the reunion in Vienna, it rejects firmly such attempts. This country, the Romanian people, as actually any people, have not been asking, will not be asking anyone's permission to choose their path of development, the constructive work they do proceeding in keeping with the general social laws, with the facts in Romania, with the common wish and will of the whole nation.

Related to the humanitarian questions, Romania considers that the final document does not mirror adequately, as suggested by this country, the states' commitment as concerns effectively ensuring some fundamental human rights. It is actually an undeniable fact that in a number of Western countries there are vital human rights which cannot assert themselves, such as providing jobs for each citizen, and first of all for the youth giving them professional training and improving the standard of their training, meeting the elementary demand that each human being should have a shelter, a home, the right to equal remuneration, to full assertion in the economic and social planes, irrespective of sex, unhampered access to education, health care, to the gains of science, technology and culture, providing dignified, civilized living conditions to all the citizens.

Figures and data in those countries' official sources present a dramatic picture which emphasizes the stringent character of the real humanitarian problems. What can be more telling, for instance, than the fact that in the ensemble of the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development including the great majority of the capitalist countries participant in the CSCE) countries the number of the unemployed persons exceeds thirty million. Only in the USA, in the last trimester of 1988, there were over 6.5 million unemployed persons, that is 5.4 per cent of the active population. At the same time, also in the USA, the number of the homeless persons is appreciated as about 3 million, and proportionally as high figures as those are registered in some Western European countries. To all this one can add the continuous polarization of capitalist society, the growing deepening of the gaps between the rich and the poor, between all kinds of socioeconomic inequities. All these represent dramatic situations which millions and millions of people experience every day. In that respect, the final document of the meeting does not come up, through its stipulations, to the peoples' expectations.

Furthermore, attention must be paid to the fact that some stipulations introduced in the Final Document, on the pretence of a so-called concern for persons' free circulation and for religious liberties, flagrantly run counter to the principles and spirit of the Helsinki Final Document, to the realities of the epoch we live in, to the norms and regulations which all the participating states adhered to. Such stipulations open the path of interference in the internal affairs of other states, of violation of national independence and sovereignty, of encouragement and stimulation of backward, obscurantist, bigotism manifestations which take society centuries back. At the same time such provisions actually spell stimulating the highly blame-worthy practice of recruiting workforce, of openly encouraging brain drain, thus hurting the interests of the peoples' economic and social development, of the less developed ones in the first place.

That is why, in relation to all these aspects, this country presented—both during the proceedings and on the occasion of the endorsement of the final document—its observations and concrete reservations, Romania taking no firm commitment, as shown in the statement released, to observe those provisions on which it presented amendments and which it considers inadequate.

With the mentioned reservations, considering that, as a whole, important provisions have been endorsed in Vienna for strengthening security and developing collaboration in Europe, and wishing to make its contribution to the effort to further promote the goals underwritten by the participant states, this country has become associated in the consensus on the Final Document.

Consistent in its principled stands, which it asserted on many occasions, Romania has stated that all the provisions of this document, as mentioned in its very contents, will have to be applied within the constitutional framework of the domestic laws and provisions of each country, of the specific traditions and conditions and at the same time in a spirit of cooperation, with the strict observance of the principles of the relations between the participant states. This stand meets to the full the letter and the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, which expressly provides that "the states will observe each other's right to choose and develop freely their political, social, economic and cultural system as well as the right to set their own laws and provisions." In keeping with these principles Romania will not accept and will not allow for any deviations or interpretations altering the content of the Helsinki Document.

As shown on the occasion of the presentation, in Vienna, of the Romanian stand, of President Nicolae Ceausescu's conception and considerations, this country is inspired by the resolve to collaborate actively with the other states and peoples for the implementation of the principles and goals set in the Helsinki Final Act, thus providing the progress of the all-European process towards strengthened confidence, understanding and collaboration among sovereign and independent states, a basic condition for building a united Europe of peace and detente and security and progress of all the nations. Socialist Romania's firm belief is that nothing short of such a course meets the vital aspirations of the peoples in the continent, the interests of peace and collaboration throughout the world.

Coman Meets With Portuguese Party Leaders

Socialist Party Leaders

AU1901145089 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 16 Jan 89 p 5

[Text] Lisbon, 15 Jan (AGERPRES)—On behalf of RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, warm congratulations, friendly greetings, and wishes for success in fulfilling their functions in the party leadership were conveyed to Comrade Ferraz de Abreu, president of the Portuguese Socialist Party [PSP], and Comrade Jorge Sampaio, PSP general secretary.

Expressing warm gratitude for the congratulations and greetings received, the PSP leaders conveyed to Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu sentiments of regard, cordial greetings, and best wishes for health and success in his activity at the head of the Romanian party, state, and people.

The exchange of messages occurred during a meeting between Comrades Ferraz de Abreu and Jorge Sampaio and Comrade Ion Coman, member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, who represented our party to the Eighth PSP Congress.

PCP Leader Cunhal

AU1901145189 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Jan 89 p 4

[Text] Lisbon, 16 Jan (AGERPRES)—A warm exchange of messages took place between RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and PCP [Portuguese Communists Party] General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal.

The exchange of messages occurred during a meeting between Comrade Ion Coman, member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, and Octavio Floriano Pato, member of the Secretariat of the PCP Central Committee.

Social Democratic Party Officials

AU1901145289 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 17 Jan 89 p 4

[Text] Lisbon, 16 Jan (AGERPRES)—An exchange of messages took place between Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, and Anibal Cavaco Silva, president of the Social Democratic Party and prime minister of Portugal, and Manuel Dias Loureiro, general secretary of the Social Democratic Party, during the latter's reception of Comrade Ion Coman, member of the PEC and secretary of the RCP Central Committee.

Likewise, an exchange of messages took place between RCP Secretary General Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Herminio Martinho, president of the Democratic Renewal Party of Portugal, during Comrade Ion Coman's meeting with Antonio Alves Marques, member of the National Commission of that party and vice president of the Assembly of the Republic, and Pedro Canavaro, general secretary of the Democratic Renewal Party.

Development of Foreign Trade Reviewed

AU2001192589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1836 GMT 20 Jan 89

["Dynamics of Romanian Foreign Trade"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 20/01/1989—Romania has currently economic relations with 150 states in all continents (as compared with 98 in 1965). The per capita volume of foreign trade reached dollars 1,160 in 1987, growing over 36 times as compared with 1950. The per capita annual values of exports grew some ninefold over 1965-1987. The more marked growth of exports (annual average rate over 1966-1986 of 10.5 per cent as against 9.4 per cent with industrial output and 7.6 per cent with national income) reflects the ever more vigorous integration into the single and interdependent system of the world economy, the ever greater involvement of foreign trade and international economic cooperation as a factor contributing to Romania's own effort of economic and social progress.

Romania's participation in the world economic circuit covers a wide range of activities: the trade in material merchandise, the trade in services, especially in transport and tourism, international cooperation in production, science and technology, financial-monetary relations, etc. The legal, institutional framework of the foreign economic relations has been steadily improved. Whereas in 1965 Romania had 120 bilateral economic accords and conventions concluded with 44 countries at a state and government level, their number reached 800 at the beginning of 1986, concluded with 124 countries and economic groups of states.

The wide process of development and modernization of the Romanian economy has resulted in tangible shifts in the structure of exports that generate one third of the national revenue. Romania has a foreign trade structure close to that of the economically developed states. Industry, a leading branch of the national economy, has increased its deliveries for export by far more than agriculture. Whereas in the period between the two world wars—a period of utmost prosperity for the pre-war economy, the Romanian deliveries rested at oil products, cereals, timber, live animals and other several staples, the exports currently have a complex structure, with the highly-processed industrial goods holding a leading position—the share of machinery, equipment, transport means, chemicals and industrial consumer goods is now some 61 per cent of the total exports, as compared with 36.2 per cent in 1965.

The intense increase of exports of machine-building makes, has resulted in an active commercial balance for this branch. In recent years, the share of the export of machinery, equipment and transport means has come to cover almost 37 per cent of the total value of exports. Worth mentioning are the sales of oil-field equipment, of equipment for the chemical and cement industry, power and electrical engineering equipment, tractors and farm machinery, tout-terrain and city cars, diesel and electric locomotives, machine-tools, bearings, electric engines, T.V. sets, refrigerators and other durables, products that made a name for themselves in international markets and are constantly asked for. On the other hand, the powerful development of chemistry and petrochemistry allowed for meeting to a greater extent the internal requirements, as well as for increased export availabilities. In the last two decades, the export of plastics grew 12.5 times, while the export of synthetic rubber threefold, of tubes and tyres fourfold, of synthetic yarn and fibres 195 times.

An important role in the process of rendering the exports remunerative has been played by the promotion of the modern ways of participation in the world circuit of assets, with the cooperation in production holding an important place. The Romanian patterns and modalities of cooperation are varied—the building of industrial and agro-zootechnical projects payable in products resulting from their activity or in other goods, the import of raw materials in counter-trade for Romanian products, prospecting and research works, technical assistance, participation in joint investments or international consortiums for the tracing and capitalization of natural resources, the setting up of joint production and marketing companies, etc. Broadly developing the relations with the socialist countries, Romania has participated in the finalization of 120 conventions and contracts of cooperation with foreign partners, especially in power engineering, chemistry and petrochemistry, machine-building, metallurgy, extractive industry, agriculture and other sectors of mutual interest. Romania unfolds fertile cooperation with the developing countries with which it has more than 100 accords and conventions, commercial and of economic and production cooperation. 180 economic projects were or are being accomplished.

Romania finalized or is in course of carrying through ventures of industrial and production cooperation, as well as in science and technology with partners in developed Western countries.

Romania is the first socialist country to have articulated specific laws for the setting up of joint companies at home (since 1972) and abroad (since 1975). So far, 24 joint production companies and 35 joint commercial companies were set up in other countries, and five joint production companies operate in Romania.

Taking account of the results so far, of the level and structure of the productive forces and the role the foreign trade has to play in Romania's next development stage, the central target of the economic policy keeps being the achievement of large and diversified commercial exchanges, the judicious dimension of imports and the growth of exports, the achievement of an active commercial balance and a higher efficiency of all import-export and economic cooperation operations. Foreign trade is to grow by 52.7 per cent in the 1986-1990 five-year period over the 1981-1985 one, and export by 75 per cent, at a higher rate than the national revenue and the industrial production.

Nuclear Cooperation With Canada Session Ends

AU1901183189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1747 GMT 19 Jan 89

["Session of the Romanian-Canadian Cooperation Committee in Nuclear Field"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 19/01/1989—Over January 16-19, Bucharest was the venue of the proceedings of the second session of the Joint Committee of Romanian-Canadian cooperation in the nuclear field.

Analysis was made of the possibilities and ways to further develop the Romanian-Canadian economic and technical-scientific cooperation and collaboration in nuclear power field.

At the conclusion of the proceedings, the co-chairman of the committee, Nicolae Andrei, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, and Jack Howett, director general of the "Candu" industries association, signed the protocol of the session.

Zagreb Television Interviews Stipe Suvar

LD2101230689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1906 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—In its "Diary 2" program, Zagreb Television tonight broadcasts an interview with Dr Stipe Suvar, president of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee. Dr Stipe Suvar was the guest of the "Interview of the Week" program. The interview was conducted by Ankica Barbir Mladinovic, editor of Zagreb television. The interview is as follows:

Question: Comrade Suvar, this week attention has been focused on your name, partly because of an unprecedented wave of criticism from various parts of the country, and this also triggered off a wave of support. How do you feel?

Answer: I discharge my business normally and I am preparing my report for the session. As far as the criticism of me is concerned, it is not new. I took on these duties in a most democratic way. Let me say something in my praise: I went through 7 difficult votes with several candidates and at the 17th session, together with 8 more comrades, I received a big vote of confidence from the Central Committee during that vote. Every criticism must be considered in a proper way, and that includes me and any other criticism; in this respect I rely on the application of the statute, and on reasoned argument.

What is new is that my replacement is now demanded, but as regards this the procedure and the democratic order within the LCY are well known. As regards me personally, and as far as the situation in the country and the situation in the LC, is concerned, I and, it seems to me, a great majority of people are increasingly concerned.

Question: I just wanted to say that the people are very concerned about the situation and are really wondering where all this is leading to. In the Federal Conference in the Presidium of the Socialist Alliance last week you made some assessments. What are they?

Answer: You see, to begin with the economic reform has not in fact even started. The political reform started with the adoption of the amendments to the SFRY Constitution. Now during the first 3 months of this year this first stage should be completed with the adoption of the changes in the constitutions of all the republics and the two autonomous provinces. And at the same time we have already announced publicly and have started to organize ourselves to draft a new constitution that in due course will come into force.

Accordingly, our preoccupation in these coming months as well as on a long-term basis and up to and following the 14th LCY Congress, will be what exactly to change in our political system. At the 18th session we set up a working group that will work on the LC platform for the new constitution which the 14th congress should adopt.

And finally, party reform. At the 17th session we formed a commission, which I am heading, which has been drafting the platform and ought to have come up now, or in March at the latest, with a draft concept of the reform that the LCY Central Committee was to assess and throw open to public party discussion with the intention of having all this be finalized at the 14th LCY Congress.

However, unfortunately the stormy political events in the country, which have escalated in recent days, are forcing us to urgently address ourselves to a renewed discussion of the current political situation concerning the relations within the LCY as well as the responsibility and work of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, and this is what this session that we have convened for 25 January is going to do.

Question: New conclusions and so on will probably be adopted at this session. However, I would still like to recall that the first conference of the LCY and the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee have passed a very clear program and firm conclusions. Are they not being implemented?

Answer: This time there would be no sense at all in adopting some general conclusions. We must call things and relations by their real names, we must embark on the necessary clearing up, on what many like to emphasize, and on differentiation. But we must do this fully, openly, sincerely, in a communist way, and in the Central Committee, which is the highest LCY organ between two congresses.

We must not delay any longer. A tense [word indistinct] has arisen in the country, the concern of the vast majority has grown, concern both for the destiny of socialism in our country and for the destiny of the Yugoslavia of Tito and the Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ]. This is because random forces, or those who wish to produce these, can destroy the Yugoslavia of AVNOJ, but a Yugoslavia is not possible which is not the one Tito conceived, not based on AVNOJ, on the equality of nations, on federal organization, or on socialist self-management. Ninety percent of our people agree with this, but the problems lie in the methods, and in the various solutions and scenarios that are offered.

Question: That is just what I wanted to say. Is all this that is happening a dispute about the practical realization of all that has been agreed upon or is it a matter of differing plans?

Answer: I would say, and this is also what I will try to show at the LCY Central Committee session, that it is a matter of differing plans. I will take two as extreme opposites. One is the restoration of bourgeois society in

full, with all its political instruments and the game of political parties, with hope on the part of those who are advocating this that the LCY will be buried, will leave the stage, and that what the Communists and the revolution in this country wanted and tried to achieve, with the huge strength of the masses, ever since the national liberation struggle, will result in a historical failure and a completely fresh start.

The other plan offers us as technology, practice, as a way of behaving, a commandant-like party such as it is no longer possible to have in this country which would lean, I would perhaps say, on an ideology of totalitarian pluralism and which would, in the end, quite certainly lead us to our own certain kind of neo-Stalinism.

Question: One in fact gets the impression that this justified dissatisfaction among people is being very carefully directed. How can one distinguish this unavoidable debate on accountability from uncontrolled behavior?

Answer: You see, tens and hundreds of thousands of party members cannot go to meetings in order to bring down party leaderships. We are not talking about others who are not party members because among those others there could be individuals, even groups, organized groups as indeed many of them are—which have a nationalist program, or some Ballist program, a Chetnik, or some Ustasha program.

There are people with whom this society has had considerable accounts to settle, Cominform supporters and criminals. All this can merge into the masses when the masses gather, can be hidden and can project its programs and slogans. And it is far from true that the vast majority of people is not deeply attached to this socialism in all parts of the country and among all our peoples and so on, or that the people does not have a profound historical memory. They feel fear and concern in case Tito's work and the work of the revolution should be completely buried. In the name of these things, and faced with great dissatisfaction and a worsening situation in their daily lives, in the name of these things they follow, for the most part, the path of social revolt.

This social revolt is often redirected and transformed into national revolt, into the awakening of national emotions, into what they are writing about abroad—that we are threatened by interethnic wars, that we are threatened by civil war, that Yugoslavia is going to fall apart. In vain we are expending vast amounts of energy, we are not turning to the real issues of development, to the real issues of these three reforms. The LC has achieved an initial declared unity on this, but practices and policies differ and pull in the differing directions of which I have spoken.

These are our trials which, without even waiting for the 14th LCY Congress, we must openly talk about and decide upon. The LC must once again show itself to be equal to the historical test and must adopt the initiative, otherwise the tide of events could truly destroy it. That would be catastrophic for this country.

Question: The leaders are increasingly singled out by name for criticism. To what extent is the leadership responsible for this entire situation?

Answer: There is an enormous number of leaderships. First of all we have Yugoslav, republican, and provincial leaderships. Since Tito's death we have not had genuine authority and actual influence of federal leaderships. Everyone rounds on them and often does so regardless, while they have been sentenced to make appeals.

Democratic centralism in the LC operates up to the level of the republican or possibly provincial LC organization; and as far as the decisions at the entire LCY level are concerned, very often everyone decides what suits him, invokes it and supports it, but goes on to work in his own way. This is wrecking the LC. True, there are perhaps imprecisions and difficulties implicit in the present-day statute solutions, and there is even more of that in practice. We must work this out at any cost by the time the 14th LCY Congress is held, and we must do the same with the tendencies of federalization and the tendencies of invoking democratic centralism.

The people who invoke it most are often the people who follow it least. Internal democracy is a big LC issue. Some segments of the LC have put a brake on the process of internal democratization of the LC, although the democratization is discussed there more than anything else.

So, you see, I am not important. Anything one wants can be written, spoken, or asserted about any one of us who has any federal office or office in another republic; campaigns can be pursued, replacement may be sought, we can even be treated as the enemies of the state.

However, find me a case in any part of the LC or in any of our socio-political communities where a single word of criticism can be uttered at someone who is the leader there without the critic being immediately replaced and punished and sacked and prescribed and thrown out of the party. Where are we? This internal democratization of the LC—the LC has become totally bureaucratic up to its leadership. There is bureaucracy in our case as well. We in the Federal Central Committee, if I can express myself in this way, have failed to work out quite a few things and did not confront each other in the right way.

Question: Since we are on the subject of this name-calling, a wave of accusations came down on you during this week. I have taken note here of some of the newspaper headlines last week. For instance POLITIKA carries articles entitled "Suvar's coalition", and there was an article in PRAVOSLAVLKJE entitled "Theater antics in unprincipled behavior." Two days ago the Ljubljana DELO wondered "Will Suvar Survive," not to

mention the special conference of the LC of Vojvodina which has just ended at which a real wave of accusations cascaded from the platform, including the proposal that you should be relieved of your office. At the same time many party and veteran organizations oppose this.

Answer: I would not like to talk about myself, but then you have asked me the question. I have already said something. I have been an LCY member for 33 years. I have made some headway in it up to and including this office which I have held for 6 months—and I probably will be there for another 6 months unless the LCY Central COmmittee replaces me in a regular manner. I would not like to explain or defend myself here at any great length.

What is new here is that now sections of the LC, information media in these environments and various political platforms and meetings are concentrating to the maximum on having the LCY Central Committee such as it now is, and its Presidium, dispersed, and then have the current president possibly replaced, foiled, and completely discredited.

For me there is nothing new in that. I profoundly trust the democratic and statute procedure in the LC and I am completely ready to account for everything to the Central Committee which elected me into the Presidium and to the Presidium which elected me the Presidium president.

And when you now add up everything said against me, let me say: This is located mainly in Serbia, in Montenegro, and in Vojvodina, while from other parts of the country and parts of the LC there are no such accusations against me. You yourself have said that support is coming. Accusations and support from one and the other side, the war concerning the people, this is a war about everything, this is also the war concerning Yugoslavia and a war concerning the LCY.

We can replace leaderships and people, but with such an atmosphere, with such relations, with such techniques in political life, we are heading for ruin; we cannot be successful. And when you add up everything around me, then you more or less get the following impression, the following message, resulting from all the criticisms which have increased in recent days to unimagined proportions:

At the head of the party is a conspirator and a reactionary who secretly visits Titograd, who hates the people, who equates the people with the streets, who supports the flunkies in the leaderships that serve him, who invents quarrels between the Serbs and the Macedonians, who is working against the provinces being parts of Serbia, and all because he is an Ustasha because he defends Mile Budak [a prominent Ustashan figure], as was written in an issue of 'PRAVOSLAVLJE'.

The people are always right, as the highest institution of the system. Aristotle said, quoting older philosophers, that the people are always right. Aristotle was probably thinking of the practice in Greek democracy whereby demagogues often led the people astray, but if they became tyrants, the people threw them out and had a bloody settling of accounts with them.

The people in this way showed with some delay that they were again right. If the people call for it, then there is nothing else to be done other than to cast off the individual and the leadership that leads them, and for a real leader and a real leadership to come to bring order and peace in Yugoslavia through the right methods.

Question: So, here we are. Next week a very important session of the LCY Central Committee awaits us. What should the Central Committee do?

Answer: I am deeply convinced that the LCY Central Committee will live up to its task. We will have a completely open and, I hope, communist, discussion before the entire Yugoslav public and before the world public. We can no longer afford to play hide and seek.

We must call things and relations, names and people, by their real names. We must call a spade a spade. I think that if it is a matter of the work and the responsibility of the LCY Central Committee, its Presidium, and of me as president of the Presidium—I am not speaking about my predecessors—then this lies in the fact that we have perhaps allowed, in the name of our not being preoccupied with ourselves, our own quarrels, our own relations; of the LC not being an impossibly quarrelsome organization, but instead turning to the real issues—the fact that we have allowed ourselves to be dictated to, to be given ultimatums, and to be presented with a fait accompli, declared Dr Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at the end of an 18-minute interview for Zagreb television.

Vojvodina LC Extraordinary Session Reported

Kovacevic Gives Speech

LD1901152189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0816 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—Self-sufficiency and an obsession with state attributes based on the autonomy exercised over the years has turned Vojvodina into one of the generators of the political crisis in the country. Bosko Kovacevic, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, stressed this in his introductory speech at the extraordinary conference of Vojvodina Communists, which began in Novi Sad today. In his view, this obsession with state attributes is the cause of undefined relations in the constitutional framework of the Serbian SR and incites a fair amount of confrontations and disputes, which in turn fuels the crisis.

In the prolonged, deepening crisis, Kovacevic continued, instead of seeking solutions for the existing problems, we rather embarked on taking sides and giving allegiance or proclaiming whose side we are on. There was no struggle for work value, knowledge, new programs, and results. By doing so, the key values of this environment, reflected in its diversity and openness [passage indistinct].

This is not, Kovacevic specified, a demand for a new political composition in Vojvodina alone, it is rather a demand for a better and happier life and for surviving in Serbia and Yugoslavia for more than a day. These are the premises for understanding the political situation which has emerged in Vojvodina since the last summer. Analyzing the ideopolitical and moral logic of Vojvodina's former leadership serves as a lesson for us to avoid the same or similar mistakes in the future. It is obvious that people's work and lives were straight-jacketed, and Vojvodina was seen as a state and autonmous unit within the Serbian SR and Yugoslavia. Kovacevic stressed: I am saying this because we cannot accept the logic of self-sufficiency. We need Serbia and Yugoslavia; we need the world around us for our own benefit. This political orientation must proceed from these premises to open up prospects and opportunities for a quicker emergence from the crisis.

We have found ourselves in the sphere of self-examination, under various pressures. The voice of the people is predominant, as is the voice of workers' revolt calling for a better, more stable, and a more hopeful life. We are learning the truth about ourselves and are becoming aware that we cannot continue in this way. Vojvodina has awakened to all the question, such as: How to proceed? And these are the very answers which the communist organization should provide. Extinguishing the fire temporarily, something we are forced to do now, is not going to help our consolidation. Therefore, the party should rally the people who are distinguished by their work, knowledge, and wisdom and the people of results and moral integrity. This is the foundation of the "for" policy, a policy for the people and not against them.

That is why, Kovacevic added, we in the party ought to muster, within and around it, more of the people who are committed to and capable of carrying out the reforms, and not just invent and fight against various "anti" forces. The people and the workers who rose are the very ones who will help the party change. It is to be a party which places its national armory in the background. Work should be put in the foreground. And this is not to be done through proclamations and decrees, but through activity and efficiency. This is what is to be the reformist step forward. It is necessary to have more work, responsibility, and results. Bosko Kovacevic spoke in greater detail about the need for large-scale and genuine democratization as an imperative for unleashing creative reformist forces. However, he said, talking about democracy also implies a responsibiity for not just words, but deeds as well. We must take responsibility for failure to do things although the opportunity was there. We must overcome such absurd situations as when those who worked are called to account instead of those who were supposed to work and did not. Very often, from their well-sheltered jobs, the latter have been sharply criticizing those who worked and made mistakes. However, this does not mean that anyone can expect to be allowed to avoid responsibility.

We need a democratic atmosphere to make a more radical break with bureaucracy, which has become entrenched at all levels of mediation under the cloak of the authority of the main protagonists on the public scene. It makes them and breaks them, depending on the configuration of the forces. Democracy does not just imply the possibility for an individual to occasionally speak freely or to identify himself with the people's genuine or apparent will. The destruction of bureaucratic powers is not just a matter of honesty and decency, of aspirations and promises. Our challenge is to develop such democratic relations and institutions capable of preventing bureaucratic perversion of those who possess great political and social power.

The processes which the Vojvodina LC embarked upon by democratizing its cadre policy have not abolished or removed all the forms of monopoly in this sphere, Bokso Kovacevic noted. However, he added, what has been achieved so far represents a decisive step toward removing from key political posts those who, for years, created and promoted wrong policy which, instead of pulling us out of the crisis, in fact pushed us into increasingly complex situations.

Those whom tomorrow we shall entrust at the helm of Vojvodina's party policy must not forget that the public, and especially those people who are unfortunately becoming poorer, will simply not accept that individual officials should be allowed to stay in their posts until the end of their mandate. The time will come when no one will be able to treat responsibility as an abstract category. We shall have to continue to realign, to leave the scene in order to make room for better people capable of carrying out the most important functions in both the LC and society.

It was also stated in the introductory speech that the key issue, which was also the gist of the process of differentiation in Vojvodina's political fabric, was the attitude toward unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia. Debates and meetings on the Constitution provided workers and the working people with an opportunity to put forward their views. It is obvious that resistance originated from the forums. Their policy, rejected by the people, was in direct opposition to the efforts to constitute the republic as a united state and self-managing community on its entire territory. It was conducive to divisions, disintegration, excessive autonomy, and insularity and, or course, to the creation of conservative, bureaucratic, and dogmatic tendencies.

The leaderships and forums displayed not an inconsiderable amount of reservation to constitutional changes in general as if they were completely oblivious of the need for changes, for preparing for the reform, Bosko Kovacevic said. People's dissatisfaction with the economic and political situation was ignored and pushed into the background. The "nothing should be changed" approach offered nothing but false peace. Moves made occasionally were mere cosmetics. The work and everyday life called for something else. Eventually, the camel's back got broken under the pressure for changes. A new climate is being created in Vojvodina, with all the contradictions inherent in a novelty.

As a communist orga zation, we must do our utmost to give momentum to the process of radical cadre changes and new political atmosphere and of new method in the political work, so that it can start producing positive results.

Speeches and activities concerning the unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia are not aimed at providing more or less scope for bureaucracy on whatever ladder, but at improving the positon of workers and the working people. We must simply find strength to carry out this orientation.

Naturally, in his introductory report, Bosko Kovacevic could not fail to stresss that Vojvodnina wanted to see counterrevolution in Kosovo crushed, and that the party rank and file, the working people and citizens of Vojvodina, angry and indignant, condemned Vojvodina's former leadership's attitude to the situation in Kosovo.

It is hard to describe the mood of people in Vojvodina caused by the attempt of many years to ignore the tragic position of Serb and Montenegrins in Kosovo, who have been emigrating under duress, Kovacevic said. There was a sharp criticism of the approach to reduce Vojvodina's contribution to primarily economic assistance without unambigous support for changes to the republic's constitution as one of the imperatives for long-term stabilization of the situation in Kosovo. The party rank and file in Vojvodina condemn those circles in Yugoslavia who simply wait to see how the situation in Kosovo will resolve itself. We are calling for responsibility to be established, and are unequivocal in our view that it is unacceptable that many leaderships in the rest of the country are considered more responsible for Kosovo than the Kosovo leaderships themselves.

As for Vojvodina, Kovacevic warned that its nationality fabric is interpreted differently, and described as unacceptable those versions which use the nationality issue for its narrow political, economic, and social interests. National diversity is not a negative feature. On the contrary, it is a significant factor of all the links and integrations ahead of us. For this reason, the narrow ideas about national composition often used to promote one's pretensions and aspirations are not long-lived. The LC must be resolute in rejecting such manipulations, as they can lead to the struggle for domination of unforseeable consequences. For decades, or rather centuries, we have learned to live together. We have developed equality and unity, which now call for new, more diversified, and more human forms. We cannot, nor do we have the right to deprive anyone, except bureaucracy, of this. Aspirations of this kind will destroy our uncompromised joint search for even more enhanced equality.

At the end of his speech, Kovacevic again stressed that in the future, we as a communist organization can affirm ourselves only through results. There is no benefit from mere talking. It is this intellectual and practical component that must be the party's key pivot at this conference, now and in the future. Let us invest such an effort as to reach an agreement on what and how to do, and to execute it accordingly.

We as communist activists can no longer agree with having only sessions, words, and speeches. We are facing the challenge of a new step, one which will be reflected in our action and the results of this action. I do not believe that it is possible for this party to deploy the model of political hygiene or just cosmetics. Such time has gone. We are approaching the time of affirmation and concrete results which will affect the people at the place and where they work and live, Bosko Kovacevic concluded.

Milosevic Delivers Address

AU1901170489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1415 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Speech by Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, at the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC in Novi Sad on 19 January—recorded]

[Text] The long-lasting Yugoslav crisis has begun its denouement. This denouement has been awaited for a long time. In a way this is logical. The denouement of a crisis is not possible without the elimination of those interests, and without the removal from the political scene of those individuals who created the crisis and later maintained it. The policy and ideas with which we started, with which we started to build our society many years ago, could not remain young, progressive and avant-garde forever. Like all ideas and all policies exposed to the changes brought by the times, they have started to clash with the times.

The lack of ability to adapt their policy to the time and to the political and social changes that it carries within itself was the cause of the crisis. It is logical that the broad public had more understanding for changes than the leaderships. The citizens and people in general needed the changes in order to live better in the economic, political, and cultural sense. Bureaucratic leaderships would have no need for changes to live better, but would in fact be worse off with the introduction of

changes. They would lose their material privileges, political influence, and social status, which enabled them to command a high and stable position in society.

Therefore, there is a clash of interests, the interest of the people who want changes and a leadership that does not want changes. This is the essence of the crisis and the explanation of the clash which took place between the leaderships and peoples last summer. The meetings of brotherhood and unity for Kosovo which took place last summer are the personification of this clash.

This is why I say that the crisis has begun its denouement. Due to many circumstances the first such meeting took place here in Novi Sad. The brutal refusal to hear the voice of the people—the group of people who endured the crisis worst, the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosov—overthrew the Vojvodina leadership.

The Vojvodina leadership has left the political and social scene because of the insensitivity which it demonstrated toward the victims of violence in Kosovo. It has also gone because it did not have an understanding of the need for economic, social, and political changes in its own community. In this way Vojvodina put a stop to bureaucracy, conservatism, and to the time behind us.

Protecting its interests, trying at least to extend the life of the policy which it had conducted, Vojvodina's bureaucracy did its best to frighten citizens away from the changes, above all changes in the political system. The current constitutional changes whose only aim is, as is known, to attain unity in Serbia as a republic, should have—according to the advocates from the ranks of the Vojvodina bureaucracy—threatened Vojvodina's economic survival and economic prospects, as if Serbia could exploit a part of the territory of its own republic and some of its own people for whose unity it strives so much.

In addition, according to them, the changes in the political system would allegedly adversely affect many nationalities in Vojvodina, primarily the Hungarians, as if the policy of national discrimination could exist in any other part of the country, especially in multinational Vojvodina, relying at the same time on the support of its own people.

And really, the constitutional amendments will not make Vojvodina lose, either in an economic or political sense. On the contrary, stagnation in Vojvodina's economic development, above all in agriculture and the agricultural industry—the erroneous policy that harmed agriculture which was carried out by the former leadership on the basis of consensus economy and autarky and which thereby slowed down the development of this rich province—will be removed with the socioeconomic reform which has begun to be realized in Serbia and, which among other things, changes its socioeconomic position in relation to other republics and to Yugoslavia in general. At the same time, the meaning of changes in the political system, above all the changes in the Constitution, are aimed at ensuring an equal legal, financial, political, and cultural position for all citizens in Serbia, whatever their national affiliation is.

At this moment, as we all know, the situation is not like this in Kosovo. Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, Muslims, Romanies, and others who are in the minority have their civil and human rights in general threatened. Therefore, the constitutional changes that are aimed at making all citizens equal before the law cannot at the same time be used as an argument to introduce inequality and discrimination.

I could also give many other controversial arguments which oppose changes. There were some who claimed that the new policy is to the benefit of only Serbs and that everybody else, particularly the people who later moved to Vojvodina from Montenegro, Hercegovina, Lika, Bosnia and elsewhere, will be pushed into the background. However, at the same time, the same people pushed advocated the opposite argument to the effect that political and social functions and positions in Vojvodina will be assumed by new citizens who came there after the war, and that the so-called original inhabitants will be pushed out of the life of their community.

As we can all see, all the cards were played in the game to make people quarrel, and then one could see which one worked. It would be best if they all worked so that everybody would go in fear, nobody would trust anyone else, and everybody would quarrel with everyone else. The old saying of divide and rule would be applied.

However, many peoples and nationalities have been living together in harmony in Vojvodina for a long time. With the solidarity they showed last summer for the victims of violence in Kosovo and with the solidarity they showed each other in October with a view to changing and improving their living together—first changing the leadership that hindered them—they denied with disdain all suspicions that changes could divide them.

It is in the joint interest of all Vojvodina citizens to live better in the economic and cultural sense, to be equal regardless of their national affiliation, to suffer no exploitation and humiliation, to live in peace and from one's own work, and to enable people to fulfill their desires concerning the prosperity of their family, successes in their work, and their contribution to the development of the society. These interests do not divide them, but bring them closer together and unite them, and it will be possible to fulfill them under the conditions of the big reform that Serbia is facing, and—I would say with a sincere conviction—all of Yugoslavia as well.

All Yugoslav peoples need a social reform that would make a quicker and more successful economic, political, and cultural development possible. The basic condition

to carry it out are so-called cadre changes in all communities and at all levels, from working organizations to the federation. In order to make myself quite clear, I want to stress that all those people who estranged Yugoslav peoples and all our people should leave political life. It seems absurd that the peoples who jointly carried out one of the most glorious revolutions of modern times and through whose brotherhood the dream of a society without exploitation and humiliation started to be realized during the war can be estranged today and in peacetime. It is as if they realized only today that they speak different languages, that they have a different history, and that they pray in different churches. When in 1941 they starting marching along their revolutionary road with zeal and anger and spent 4 difficult and comradely years on it, they knew that some of them used Cyrillic and some Latin script, and that some read Gundulic [Ivan Gundulic, Croatian writer] and others Janko Veselinovic [Serbian writer]; they knew that some of them had seen many European towns and others had not set foot outside their own. These differences did not seem important to them then.

Today, however, in times of peace and in a society for which they fought, these differnces have become important. This is not only absurd, but also completely immoral. These people who are to blame for this hatred among the Yugoslav people cannot go unpunished. Those people who have tried to estrange Serbs and Montenegrins, that is, Serbia and Montenegro, the two eyes in one head, to use this simile, cannot avoid the punishment of these two peoples. [long applause]

During the summer, fall, and all these months, the citizens of Vojvodina have made an almost historic contribution to the unity of Serbia, but also to the unity of Yugoslavia. The fact that some representatives of the former leaderships harshly attacked them recently, and particularly at the latest session of the Vojvodina Provincial Committee, really should not worry or surprise them. One cannot expect these people whom we criticized so much, and even replaced, to be on our side and offer us support. They and the policy they supported are already part of the past.

Events in our country are developing more quickly than many people can follow and, in particular, more quickly than people can interpret them. At worst, the events are moving toward resolving the crisis for the benefit of our country, socialism, and the interests of the workers class and citizens of Yugoslavia. With this outcome of the crisis, we have had to face and clash with the interests and individuals who will be threatened by this outcome. This confronting and clashing has brought additional difficulties to the existing crisis. However, this is the burden which those who want to change the world in which they live will have to bear. The Communists and citizens of Vojvodina bravely and resolutely decided to fight the difficulties, to turn a new page, and, in this respect, to start supporting the efforts made by citizens and Communists in Serbia and many other people all over our country.

This is why our comrades in Vojvodina rightly expect success and better days. I am convinced that the time of great and joint work to remove the mistakes lies before us, together with even greater joint work and new ideas on creating development.

Vojvodina will greatly contribute to this development through the Communists, who enjoy the trust of the people, and will do so on the basis of today's mobilization of the workers, youth, and citizens of Vojvodina, and by using its natural, working, and intellectual potentials.

The harmony in which the citizens of Vojvodina live can serve as an example to many multinational communities, above all to Kosovo, and even to Yugoslavia itself.

In this respect, I greet you dear comrades, delegates at this conference, as well as all Communists and citizens in Vojvodina. I wish you successful work. I hope that we will jointly succeed in overcoming difficulties in order to live in Serbia in harmony and in a better way. [applause]

First Day Proceedings

LD2001113289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1015 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—Accompanied by the sounds of the Internationale, a 2-day extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC began today in Novi Sad.

The conference was opened by Bosko Kovacevic, president of the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, who welcomed the delegates and guests, which include Vasil Tupurkovski, a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium; Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium; and representative of republican central committees and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee.

Over the next 2 days, nearly 1,000 delegates and guests will analyze the current ideopolitical situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and establish the tasks of the LC of this province designed to overcome it. There will also be discussion of the ideopolitical questions associated with the reform of the economic system and of the tasks of communists in implementing it; it was said at the very outset that this is inseperable from the political situation in Vojvodina.

The delegates at the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC will, at the end, elect a new provincial committee and its statutory and supervisory committee, and there will also be an election of candidates to fill vacancies in the LCY Central Committee from the Vojvodina LC.

After approving the code of conduct concerning the work of the extraordinary conference of Vojvodina Communists and the election of its working bodies, Bosko

Kovacevic, president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, made his introductory report on the current ideopolitical situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina and the tasks of Communists designed to overcome it.

Immediately after the introductory reports, but prior to the beginning of the debate itself, participants at the conference were welcomed by Vasil Tupurkovski, a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Bureaucratic evolution and autarkic development, as the generators of our divisions and disintegration processes, have forced us—and they are doing so today as well—to the sidelines, Tupurkovski stressed. He added that our move to the sidelines has been significantly augmented by nationalism and national narrow-mindedness, which have always encouraged primitivism and a destructive attitude toward the ideals of humanism, democracy, and equality. It is extremely alarming that nationalism has entered—even among communists—the LC itself. No one can distance themselves from responsibility for this. After all, there are no communist ideas without internationalism, without a model of open socialism, and without the two-way flow of cultures, civilizations, and human achievements. And there is no democracy without intensive communication and exchange of ideas and without understanding of the world. [passage ommitted]

Participating in a critical analysis by Vojvodina Communists on the dogmatic and bureaucratic attitude of the former leadership of the Vojvodina LC, as well as on the etatist and technobureaucratic monopoly, Turpurkovski stressed that these assessments have both a general and a principled significance. They provide a basis for the transformation of the party. The era of voluntaristic intervention by the party in social and economic developments has endangered socialism and made it into something inferior. Hence, in the context of the democratic renewal of the LC, we must persistently and consistently create a distance between the party and the authorities and dilute the party state and the state party.

To this end, in this historical phase of social development, the reality of political pluralism should be understood, and in it there should be a search for democratic potential, further serving socialist and self-managing development. The essentially demagogic ambitions for the creation of a multiparty system in our country should not be opposed by an undemocratic and dogmatic LC, but on the contrary, by the democratic evolution of the LC. [passage omitted]

The first participant in the debate, Imre Kabok, stated that never have we drawn so many conclusions on agriculture in the midst of such a bad situation. He noted that in the economic reform documents, there has been complete neglect for the role of agriculture, and that it is only through economic policy measures that its competitiveness can be achieved. Kabok advocated a unified agriculture policy in Yugoslavia and suggested that, instead of oral support, concrete sources of funding be specified, because unless this happens, agriculture will be in an even more difficult position than it is now. [passage omitted]

What is now happening is a watershed in the history of the Vojvodina LC, Milan Ratkov assessed. He termed the October events in Novi Sad an antibureaucratic revolution.

Ratkov blamed the former Vojvodina leadership for objectively encouraging, through its opportunist attitude towards Kosovo, the nationalists and separatists in this province, and he pointed out that separatism is not only "the speciality" of the political leadership in Vojvodina.

He proposed that the delegates at this extraordinary conference demand a halt to the practice, in the highest organs of the LCY, of changing stances and views, and that to this end a request be made that the LCY Central Committee establish the responsibility of Stipe Suvar. His responsibility is needed, Ratkov said, because of this assessments of popular meetings and nationalism, but also because of his silence in connection with the birth of new political parties in our society. He also proposed that a request be sent to the LCY Central Committee to fill the vacancies at its next session with representatives of Vojvodina Communists who would be elected at this conference.

Mihalj Kertes also spoke about the close links between the former leadership of Vojvodina and the leadership of Kosovo. He said that their common aim was the destruction of the present leadership of Serbia, based on the policy of excessive autonomy and separatism. Kertes spoke in particular about the concrete consequences of the policy of excessive autonomy, something that its chief advocates would have to anser for. He referred to the case of the Novi Sad Bank which wrote off 15 million [currency not further specified] in debts which it owed to the work organizations "25. Maj" and "jugoalat," although they had never received this money. As a result, "25. Maj" went bankrupt, the workers were left without bread, and the politicians who brought this situation about look on at all this with peaceful consciences. [passage omitted]

Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, then took the floor. And this brought this morning's work of the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC to an end. [passage omitted]

Marica Zoric advocated the urgent convening of an extraordinary LCY congress because, she said, it has been shown that last year's federal party conference contributed nothing to the halting of the federalization of the LCY. She also maintained that the differentiation that has been implemented or is being implemented in

Vojvodina, Serbia, and Montenegro will not provide results as long as we have such an ineffective LC in Kosovo and such an ineffective LCY Central Committee Presidium.

The Presidium of the LCY Central Committee, Zoric says, is not demonstrating the necessary maturity, often changes its stances, is late in reacting to events, and thus contributes to the intensification of the crisis and the differences within the LCY. She also accused this executive-political organ of failing to react to events in Slovenia. That a reaction is needed is illustrated by the fact that, according to her, only naive people could still believe that the Slovene Democratic Alliance will not be another political party, and only naive people fail to see that the Slovene SAWP, under the leadership of Smole, has opened up an arena for the activity of the right, thus destabilizing all of Yugoslavia.

Aleksandar Cule criticized the LCY Central Committee Presidium and Suvar personally because, as he put it, he does not criticize comrades on Slovenia "who, by their activity, are undermining Yugoslavia and making room for a political opposition". We must be clear about the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, he added. If Comrade Suvar has the authority and strength to bind the LCY together and to consolidate it, I do not know what he is waiting for. If, on the other hand, Comrade Suvar does not have this strength and authority, we must also raise the question of what he is waiting for—why does he resign [as received] Cule concluded. [passage omitted] [transmission interrupted; TANJUG part 12 not received] [passage omitted]

The policy oriented toward excessive autonomy has caused a great shame for Vojvodina and has broken the unity of Serbia and Yugoslavia, Mihajlo Sukovic stressed. Such a policy was also a great help to separatists in Kosovo, he said. Every citizen should be ashamed of what is happening in Kosovo. Is it possible that Yugoslavia does not have the strength to settle accounts with separatists in that province, Sukovic asked. During the war, we had good leadership and that is why we won, Sukovic said, and now we have a disunited and incapable leadership, and that is why we have a state incapable of providing elementary human rights to Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. [Passage omitted]

Whenever people sensed the danger of bureaucracy, they went out onto the streets—and this is what they did in October 1988, Stana Macura said. The people expressed a high degree of consciousness—it was magnificent when the nations and nationalities of Vojvodina justifiably demanded the replacement of their own leadership. Assessing the measures pronounced on the creators of the policy of excessive autonomy, Stana Macura said that their modest punishments are small and that, in view of what they had done, they deserve more serious punishment. [passage omitted]

In assessing what has been happening in Vojvodina, Dusko Radjenovic said, it cannot be accepted that it was a case of there having been an erroneous policy; it was rather a matter of a conscious policy with all the elements of moral and criminal responsibility. All those who have, as a result of this, been expelled from the LC, can no longer be on the payroll of the party. Their place is in the Employment Bureau, or they should take early retirement, Radjenovic assessed, after which there was loud applause in the hall. [passage omitted] [transmission interrupted; TANJUG part 19 not received]

The conference was informed about the stance of the extraordinary conference of Liman Communists of Novi Sad Municipality that Miodrag Koprivica should not be registered as a candidate for the secretary of the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, regardless of the fact that the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee supported him. It was said that Koprivica was not supported by at least 15 municipal committees of the Vojvodina LC. It was explained that at no time did Koprivica distance himself from the excessive autonomy policy, although he had many opportunities to do so even when he was the executive secretary of the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee.

The extraordinary conference of the Liman Communists categorically demanded that none of the members of the previous provincial party leadership be on the list of candidates either for the Provincial Committee, its Presidium, or the LCY Central Committee. The stance of the extraordinary conference of Communists of this municipality is that support be witheld for the following candidates for a new provincial committee: Nadica Alavadzin, Rista Dangubic, Milan Kostic, Zivko Radulnovic, Dragoslav Rajkovic, Mihalj Sterbik and Jan Kisgeci.

The conference adopted the proposal of the provincial committee that Ladislav Darabos, Vukasin Loncar, Nandor Major, Petar Matic, Borislav Odadzic, and Matija Vaslovic, members of the LCY Central Committee from the Vojvodina LC, be relieved from the membership in the LCY Central Committee and from all related duties at the first session of the LCY Central Committee. New members of the LCY Central Committee from the Vojvodina LC, who are registered at the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC, should replace them.

Without that, Koprivica said, the Vojvodina LC, as a part of the LCY, does not have the opportunity to participate on an equal basis in the work of the LCY Central Committee, which brings into question the legality of the LCY Central Committee.

The proposed list of candidates for a new provincial committee of the Vojvodina LC was adopted with six votes against, and the proposed composition of the statutory and supervisory commission of the Vojvodina

LC Provincial Committee was adopted unanimously. The proposed list of candidates to complete membership of the LCY Central Committee from the Vojvodinan LC was adopted unanimously.

The extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC continues its work tomorrow.

Session Continues

LD2101121689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0903 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Novi Sad, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—Vehement condemnation of Vojvodina's recent policy of excessive autonomy and of all its protagonists, several serious criticisms of the federal party leadership and its president, as well as explicit requests for the rapid and effective solution of the difficult problems in the whole country, especially those in Kosovo, are the basic characteristics of the debate at the Vojvodina LC extraordinary conference, which is continuing its work in Novi Sad today.

On the 2d day of the conference, the first to speak was Antun Raic. He advocated that Vojvodina Communists propose changes and addenda to all the laws and sublegal acts related to cadre policy. The purpose of this is to prevent the appointment to senior positions of people who have run afoul of the law. In practice, he said, there are such cases now, something which is often furthered by discrepancies between regulations on cadre policy. This provides a favorable climate for the internal and external enemy.

It is not by chance that the word "extraordinary" has been used in this conference, Slavko Bektas assessed. He stressed that this gathering really must signify a turning point in the work and behavior of Vojvodina Communists. Criticizing the provincial leadership, especially for disputing every initiative from the SR of Serbia for more unity and togetherness, he said that it is now nevertheless clear that "we are leaving behind us a mistaken and defeated policy."

The greatest responsibility for the situation in the LCY, according to Bektas, is borne by the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium, which has had its authority destroyed, and has no possibility of creating conditions for implementing reforms. The LCY Central Committee Presidium is not only failing to carry out established party policy, Bektas stressed, but it is failing to carry out concrete tasks in connection with establishing responsibility in the Kosovo LC. Concerning counterrevolution in Kosovo, it is not acting as it should. And it is not taking a clear stance on specific developments in Slovenia either. On the occasion of the recent events, it even distanced itself from the people in Vojvodina and Montenegro. Hence, he believes, it is quite clear why it is that the convening of an extraordinary congress and the holding of emergency elections is being demanded. [passage omitted]

If we fail to make a significant move toward improving the working people's standard of living, warned Ante Maras, there will be mass gatherings again, but they will no longer be peaceful and dignified. In order to avoid this, working people must be trusted, and this can be achieved by honest work, knowledge, and consistency, not by stealing social property and by making empty promises. We know that mass gatherings are not a way out of this situation, but we are asking to be shown the way which would enable workers in Bosnia, Macedonia, Kosovo, Vojvodina or any other part of Yugoslavia to educate their children and live an honest life from their own work. This would put an end to mass gatherings. Otherwise I am not sure, he added, that the workers would be satisfied with peaceful protests, because the people are not demanding replacements for the sake of replacements, but rather demanding to see results. [passage omitted]

The political crises have led to the economic one, and the main culprit is the LCY leadership, which keeps failing to reach an agreement on the key problems of our society, stressed Goran Latinovic. In his opinion, the most important thing at present is to save the democracy we attained from political chameleons and to retain the spirit of ancient times.

At the end of the first part of this morning's work of the extraordinary session of the Vojvodina Communists, Marica Zoric announced, on behalf of the nominating commission, that the proposal to elect Miodrag Koprivica as secretary of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee was supported in 21 municipalities and in the Serbian LC CC. [passage omitted]

After the first break of the second day of work of the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC, the delegates voted for a new provincial committee, the statutory and supervisory commissions, and for nine places in the LCY CC from the Vojvodina LC. The extraordinary conference previously endorsed a considerably larger number of delegates than needed for all the new provincial LC organs and for the LCY CC. The results of the elections will be announced at the end of the work of the conference.

Accepting the appeal of the working Presidium to shorten the discussion and, if possible, reduce it to concrete messages and proposals, Nikola Saranovic said that the emergency situation we are facing also requires people who are able to deal with emergencies, such as Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium. For this reason, he concluded, I suggest to the members of our new leadership to follow this course. [passage omitted]

Last year, assessed Cedomir Erbes, many people suffered because of their opposition to the policy of excessive autonomy conducted by the Vojvodina leadership. All these people must be politically and morally rehabilitated in public, he said. This suggestion was met with

applause. From now on, there should be as few as possible various "white", "blue" or similar books. The sessions of the forum must be open because there should be no secrets among the Communists. If there are any secrets, people can be manipulated. [passage omitted]

Berkes was surprised at the fact that even after 8 years, the organizers of the counterrevolution in Kosovo were not unmasked. To make things even worse, not even the organizors of the November gatherings and demonstrations in Pristina are known. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the large responsibility facing the Vojvodina LC and all the subjective forces for the consolidation and development of brotherhood and unity and fellowship in Serbia, Pavle Budakov said that changes to the Constitution of this republic, to be accepted soon, represent a necessary condition for such relations in the republic. [passage omitted]

Yugoslav communists are united, Ljubo Latinovic said, but those in the leadership divide us. For that reason I call for Stipe Suvar's recall. If this is not done, then at the extraordinary congress, Communists should decide upon leadership which they can trust. Latinovic drew attention to the disastrous fact that many responsible people act irresponsibly at a time when the situation is more serious than that in 1941. This cannot be tolerated. We war veterans, he concluded, must not allow any division, any breaking up of Yugoslavia. We must stay consistently on the revolutionary path upon which we started in 1941. [passage omitted]

Advocating a thorough change of the 1974 Constitution, Sreten Djuric warned that a dangerous multiparty system is in action, which consists of national parties. He adds that this is much worse than "solidarity." [passage omitted]

The LCY Central Committee Presidium and its president carry considerable responsibility for everything happening in our country, stressed Zivan Marelj. In his view they take untimely and unprincipled stands on key questions concerning us, especially where consolidation of unity and togetherness in the SR of Serbia are concerned. This, said Marelj, has confused the people and opened up the scope for diverse political conduct.

There is also the question, said Marelj, of what will heppen to decisionmaking in the federation if Serbia becomes a single entity. Since I personally witnessed such dilemmas, stressed Zivan Marelj, LCY Central Committee Presidium, told me that because of unity in Serbia, an initiative will be launched to have the provinces taken out of the federation, so that they are no longer constituent parts. It is perhaps clear now, said Marelj, why there has been such desire to have Serbia divided into three parts. It appears that if, in the decisionmaking process in the federation, the provinces have stands which are different from those of Serbia, then they are acceptable. Alternatively, said Marelj, if their stands are identical with those of Serbia, then they are unacceptable, and there is no room for them in the federation. This stand is untenable was the evaluation of Zivan Marelj, who stressed that he had to say this so that when making their decisions and when adopting documents, the delegates could bear these facts in mind.

In light of everything we have heard and of what is happening, we must be astounded and surprised, stressed Nedeljko Sipovac, one of the delegates proposed as president of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee. Does it mean that Serbia bothers Yugoslavia and that it needs it only when it is divided into three little states, asked Sipovac. Does it mean that a single Serbia will abolish autonomy? Does this show why the actions following the 16th LCY Central Committee session were conducted in that way, and why the disunity following the 17th session was even greater? He wondered whether in light of all this, it is not clear why the actions to break the counterrevolution in Kosovo are ineffective.

Any party leadership elected today cannot go back to the old policy denounced by the people. Such a leadership will not be able to meet the people's wishes. It will stand no chance if the present policy of the Yugoslav party leadership, led by the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, continues. Because of all this and in light of the discussion at the highest meeting of Vojvodina Communists, Nedeljko Sipovac suggested that Dr Stipe Suvar be relieved of his office as president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

This will not be enough to resolve all the problems which have cropped up, so Sipovac proposed that this conference ask for the convening of a special LCY Congress. This was a demand made by a majority of debate participants. [passage omitted]

After the 2-day discussion, in which more than 150 delegates either took the floor or submitted opinions, participants of the extraordinary conference of Vojvodina Communists listened to the Electoral Commission's report. Delegates were informed that 439 out of 446 Communists present voted in the provincial committee election and that 19 ballots were invalid. In the first round of voting, 114 people received a majority of votes from those present and were thus elected as Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee membes. A subsequent round of voting was needed to elect one more member from among the five candidates closest to receiving a majority. The Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee has 115 members, and 138 were on the list.

Miodrag Koprivica, one of the candidates envisaged as security of the provincial committee Presidium, was among those who were not elected. In the first round of votes, the statutory (21 members) and supervisory (15) commissions of the Vojvodina LC were elected.

A second vote was taken for one LCY member from the Vojvodina LC, since 8 candidates out of 17 received required majority. The ninth member was elected from between the two candidates who had come closest to receiving a majority.

After the vote, discussion condinued. [passage omitted]

Djordje Scepancevic personally dissociated himself from the words spoken by Zivan Marelj because he believed that Marelj should have said this publicly a year ago, or at least 3 months ago. Scepancevic suggested that the conference should not approve stands and adopt conclusions on the basis of the "hearsay" principle. [passage omitted]

The stance was unanimously adopted that LCY Central Committee members Petar Matic, Nandor Major, Vukasin Loncar, and other LCY Central Committee members from the Vojvodina LC who did not receive a vote of confidence be relieved from membership in this party forum at the LCY Central Committee session scheduled for 25 January.

The efforts of the special Vojvodina conference to obtain the 115th new provincial committee member after the second round of voting almost turned into an electoral farce. This was due to the incomprehensible proposal by the Candidature Commission and persistent insistence by a number of delegates that Miodrag Koprivica, who during the first round failed to get a sufficient number of votes for provincial committee membership, should be on the list of candidates for the 115th position.

The delegates of the special Vojvodina LC conference eventually approved a different proposal which emerged from the interpretation by a representative of the Statute Commission, whereby the 115th member of the provincial committee would be the person who received the highest number of votes in the second round. According to the Electoral Commission report, this person was Vukasin Djunic.

Thus, .fter a lengthy and painful discussion a danger was removed which, the delegates warned, could cast a shadow on the special conference of Vojvodina Communists and its dignified and democratic 2 days of work.

Subsequently the present Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee and the Statute and Supervisory Commissions of the Vojvodina LC were released from their duties. A supplementaty conference decision was adopted concerning the demand to convene a special LCY conference, which empowers the provincial committee to prepare an explanation in keeping with paragraph 3 of Article 110 of the LCY Statutes.

The 2-day session of the special LC Conference of Vojvodina session concluded at 0030. Chairman Stanko Radmilovic stressed that its participants can be satisfied with and proud of the work and the overall results of this meeting.

Suvar Resignation Demanded

LD2001210389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1958 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—This evening delegates of the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina LC demanded unanimously that the LCY Central Committee Presidium dismiss Dr Stipe Suvar from the post of president of the Presidency.

The explanation of the stance of the delegates at the extraordinary conference of the Vojvodina Communists stresses that delegates decided upon the demand as a result of their conviction that Stipe Suvar, with his assessments and stances, was involved in the confrontation between the Serbian and Montenegrin peoples on the one hand, and the Macedonian, on the other. Together with many critical assessments, Suvar is blamed for helping to delay the implementation of orientations of the LCY organs on resolving problems in Kosovo.

Party Leadership Criticized

LD2001212589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2023 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Novi Sad, Jan 20 (TANJUG)—The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) and its leadership bear the biggest responsibility for the overall difficult situation in the country, it was assessed at a special conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina today.

The majority of delegates at the two-day session, due to complete its work this evening, noted that the Yugoslav Communist leadership cannot create conditions for the necessary mobilization which would lead the country out of the crisis.

Delegates criticized the Yugoslav party leadership for not being prompt enough in taking clear stands on events in the country, citing as examples last November's demonstrations of Albanians in Kosovo, the protests by Montenegrins in Titograd earlier this month and the foundation of, as it was stated, new political parties in the Republic of Slovenia.

The Communists of Vojvodina believe that the Yugoslav party leadership was not carrying out concrete tasks to determine the responsibility in the League of Communists of Kosovo, and hold it responsible for distancing itself from the people during the demonstrations in Vojvodina and Montenegro, where leaderships were toppled as a result of the protests.

Strong criticism was also directed at President of the LCY Central Committee Presidency Dr Stipe Suvar. The majority of delegates demanded a special congress of the Yugoslav party and special elections.

Most criticism voiced at the special conference of the Vojvodina party was addressed to the former autonomist provincial leadership which advocated the statehood of the province without taking into account the unity of Serbia of which it is a part. Many speakers demanded the former leaders be brought to account, not only in ideo-political terms, but legally as well.

There were also calls that all the communists that suffered as a result of opposition to the former autonomist leadership be morally and politically rehabilitated.

Delegates also endorsed changes in the 1974 Serbian Constitution which would make it possible for this republic with two provinces to have state powers on its entire territory, same as other Yugoslav republics.

It was also proposed that a time limit be placed before the presidency of the state and the party to resolve the Kosovo drama and that the higher party organs use their statutory right and propose the holding of a special conference of the League of Communists of Kosovo.

Demands were also made at the special conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina calling for a halt in the republican-provincial squabble [word indistinct] start on the work on an all-Yugoslav programme for ending the crisis. At the same time, warnings were made that the creation of national parties is a dangerous road leading to a multi-party system.

Most delegates said that the League of Communists must have a clear and concrete programme of future action and that an economic reform is a priority task possible to achieve only with the affirmation of work, know-how and creativity.

It was warned that unless "no [as received] substantive improvements in the living standards of Yugoslavs are made soon," mass rallies can be expected, but they will not be peaceful or dignified.

It is a prevalent conviction that, despite shaken confidence, the League of Communists is the only political force that can pull the country out of the crisis. This is why the party must undergo democratization and, through a swift transformation, restore the authority it once had.

LCY Central Committee Named

LD2001231689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2049 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—The following are [newly elected] members of the LCY Central Committee from the Vojvodina LC: Sinisa Batalo, Janos Domokos, Sreten Djuric, Biljana Mitrovic, Aleksandar Kovacevic, Radovan Pankov, Stanko Radmilovic, Djordje Scepancevic, and Dragutin Zelenovic.

Special Congress Demanded

LD2001231089 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2110 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—The demand tonight by the participants in the special conference of the LC of Vojvodina to have a special LCY congress convened means in fact—if the party statute is to be followed to the letter—the beginning of the procedure for holding a special party congress.

Article 110 of the LCY Statute says "that the LCY Central Committee convenes a special LCY congress on its own initiative or by a request by the Congress of the LC of a republic or by the conference of the LC of a province."

The same article of the party statute makes it clear that the decision to convene and the method of preparing the special congress must be taken by the LCY Central Committee, after consultations, at least 3 months after the date that the demand is made. The agenda and the method of preparation of the documents for the special LCY conference is, in accordance with the statute, prepared by the initiator of the congress with the necessary explanation.

It transpires from all this that the many demands to hold a special party congress, addressed frequently during recent months by the LC organs and organizations, according to the statute are not binding on the LCY Central Committee. However, the demand made tonight by the special conference of the LC of Vojvodina is something different.

Radmilovic Named to Presidium

LD2101023089 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2335 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—During the first session of the new provincial committee of the LC of Vojvodina, the special conference of Vojvodina Communists elected Dr Stanko Radmilovic as a candidate for the membership of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee from the LC of Vojvodina.

Stanko Radmilovic was born in 1936 in Oljasi, near Slavonska Pozega. He is a doctor of economic sciences, a member of the delegation of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly, and until now a member of the Presidium of the provincial committee of the LC of Vojvodina.

Provincial Presidium Elected

LD2101110689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0056 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Summary] Novi Sad, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—A 15-member Presidium was elected at the first session of the newly elected Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee: of 115 Provincial Committee members, 99 voted for 17 listed candidates.

The Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium members are Jovan Babovic, Stojan Berber, Milovan Blazic, Emilija Bruner Bala, Jovan Ceranic, Slavko Gordic, Predrag Jereminov, Jan Kisgeci, Ljubo Latinovic, Dusko Mirkov, Vlada Popovic, Jovan Tica, Nedeljko Sipovac, Mirjana Zlatkovic, and Dragoje Zarkovic. Mihalj Kertes and Predrag Perusina were not elected.

Sipovac Elected to Office

LD2101053089 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0309 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Novi Sad, January 21 (TANJUG)—Nedeljko Sipovac, 47, economist, Serbian, was elected late tonight by secret-ballot for the new president of Vojvodina's party Presidency at the end of the two-day special conference of the League of Communists of this Yugoslav autonomous province. Twelve members of the new party Presidency voted for Sipovac and the second candidate, Predrag Jereminov, received only two votes.

Emilija Bruner-Bala was elected secretary of the Vojvodina Party Presidency.

Among the members of the new provincial leadership are writer Slavko Gordic and well-known Yugoslav economist and professor at Novi Sad University Dr Dragoje Zarkovic.

Stanko Radmilovic, 53, doctor of economics, was nominated as Vojvodina's representative in the Yugoslav Party Presidency.

Over 100,000 demonstrators in the province's capital Novi Sad demanded the resignation of Vojvodina's complete leadership early last October. The former leadership was accused of leading an autonomist policy in relation to the Republic of Serbia and that it had become bureaucraticized.

Vojvodina, an autonomous province and a part of the Republic of Serbia, has a multi-ethnic population.

Vojvodina To Form New Constitutional Commission

LD1901175289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Novi Sad, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—At today's session the Commission for Elections and Appointments of the Vojvodina Assembly adopted a proposal for candidate members of a new commission for constitutional questions of the Vojvodina Assembly, which will consist of 25 members. They include 14 delegates from the Vojvodina Assembly and 11 well-known scientific and expert workers, public workers, and representatives of sociopolitical organizations. The president and members of the new constitutional commission will be elected by the Vojvodina Assembly.

Today the Commission for Elections and Appointments also adopted a request by Marija Zvekic-Miskoljci, president of the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Vojvodina Assembly, to be relieved of her duties because of her retirement on 1 March. Karo Ljesevic, vice president of the Sociopolitical Chamber, also tendered his resignation, but for health reasons.

The commission will propose to the Assembly and its sociopolitical chamber that Jovan Popov, delegate in this chamber, be vice president of the Sociopolitical Chamber until the election of the president.

The commission also adopted the proposal that Predrag Markov, present member of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, be nominated for new provincial secretary for internal affairs and Infantry Colonel Geza Farkas for new provincial secretary for national defense.

Kosovo Situation Reportedly 'Getting Worse'

AU2001161589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] At the session of the Kosovo Presidency and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, it was assessed that the political and security situation is getting worse. Here is a report by Milisav Milic:

Hostile activities from the position of Albanian nationalism continue to be evident. Interethnic relations are very aggravated. Divisions are growing. In many communities, the stands of party and state organs are not being implemented consistently. If these tendencies continue, the normal functioning of sociopolitical and other organs could be hindered, and there is the serious danger of conflicts on an interethnic basis.

The situation particularly deteriorated after the November mass demonstrations by Albanians. In some communities in Kosovo, there have been calls for more gatherings. The Presidency and the Presidium demand that such tendencies be prevented. Possible repeat gatherings could have unforeseeable consequences. It has particularly been shown that the decisions of the Kosovo Presidency and the order of Rahman Morina, Provincial Secretary for Internal Affairs, on the banning of gatherings are still in effect.

The forthcoming cadre renewal in the LC and other sociopolitical organizations should contribute to the serious situation in Kosovo being overcome more

quickly and the crude divisions between people being wiped out. The cadre renewal and the mobilization of the entire party membership should create a united front of Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians, Muslims, Turks, and everyone who lives in Kosovo, whose energy should be directed toward economic and social reform and a better life for everyone in the province.

This is said in the statement from the session of the Kosovo Presidency and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium.

LCY 'Close' to Holding Special Congress

LD2201223489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1915 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 22 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) is very close to holding a special congress, the first in its seventy year history, a number of Yugoslav dailies assess today.

The demand for the urgent convening of a special Yugoslav party congress, unanimously adopted last Friday by 400 delegates at the League of Communists of Vojvodina special conference, in accordance with the LCY statute, in fact signifies the start of the procedure for its convening.

Under the statute, "an LCY special congress can be convened by its Central Committee on its own initiative, or at the demand of the LC congress of one of the six republics, or the LC conference of one of the two provinces." After necessary consultations, the Central Committee—the top-ranking party organ between two congresses—is obliged within three months to reach the decision on convening a special congress and the way it will be prepared.

The last, 13th LCY Congress was held in June 1986, and the next regular congress is scheduled for 1990.

As specified by the League of Communists of Vojvodina, the special congress should do away with the unsuccessful policy pursued so far and its protagonists. The party's reform and election of a new leadership should restore its trust and authority with the people. The party must overcome internal disunity in order to mobilize communists throughout the country for the announced changes, i.e. the implementation of the economic and political reforms.

According to the proposal, the aim of the special congress must be the creation of a Yugoslav programme for surmounting the long-standing crisis, restoring peace and inter-ethnic trust in the province of Kosovo (troubled by the activity of Albanian separatists) and ending the disintegration in the country.

The first official initiative for holding a special congress, launched by delegates of the League of Communists of Serbia at the LCY Conference last May, was not received favourably at the time. Some critics of the proposal, within and outside the party, said that, in view of such major reforms, there was not enough time to thoroughly prepare the congress, and that the holding of a special congress would be an unnecessary expenditure, since the federal congress is always preceded by republican congresses and provincial conferences.

Demands for a special LCY congress, which have been increasingly heard from the party membership this year, are also linked with the responsibility for the top party leadership and its president Stipe Suvar for the party's inefficacy and inability to implement its own decisions.

The first demands came from the republic of Montenegro, whose party leadership was toppled after protest meetings earlier this month in the republican capital Titograd. The demands were then upheld by the party organizations throughout Serbia, but only after the initiative of the special conference of the League of Communists of Vojvodina are the competent organs obliged to act upon them.

On Friday, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina also proposed that the LCY Central Committee decides at its coming sesion (on January 25-26) to call a special congress this year. The proposal was upheld today by the party leadership of the Republic of Macedonia.

Zagreb Association, Slovene Union Compared

AU1401213689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Jan 89

[Talk by Vesna Knezevic]

[Text] What similarities link the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative of Zagreb, whose members met in public last Tuesday [10 January] for the first time, and the Slovene Democratic Union, founded a day later in Ljubljana, and what specific points divide them? Vesna Knezevic says:

Both cases were conscious attempts to move on the margin of a spent political credibility, in search of a pluralism of all kinds, as one could hear in Ljubljana, or a pluralistic constitution, as it was said in Zagreb. Both search for man; the Zagreb people literally used a 100-watt lamp for this purpose, and the Ljubljana people stacks of movie floodlights.

There is a further similarity in the insistence on parliamentary democracy, the right to differences, the return to a continuity of human civilization, a continuity that socialism willfully interrupted, as Vukasin Pavlovic said at a scientific gathering about a civil society, held in Zagreb 2 days ago.

Similarity is exhausted as far as the basic premises and the general aims are concerned. For a start, the Zagreb association comprises people of doubt at this time. They

are people who are ready at any moment to perceive the possible consequences of some insufficiently thought-out stances. They are a small group of intellectuals in which it is more easy to perceive the links between the cause and consequence.

There is much less doubt in the Slovene Democratic Union, which means that they will be able to do much more, but at the same time they perhaps will not always know what they are doing. The Yugoslav option is the strongest card in the Zagreb hand, and the strongest card in the democratic union is undoubtedly the Slovene card. This means that the Slovene Democratic Union will sit on the fence until it is convinced that the Yugoslav variations of the future really constitute a guarantee for the development prospects of the European kind, or to be even more specific: until they conclude that Yugoslav Slovenia has obtained a guarantee that it will not remain on the sunny, but provincial side of the Alps, as Professor Dimitrij Rupel, first man of the union, says.

The Zagreb Association invokes the continuity of the Korcula Philosophy School and Praxis. The Ljubljana Democratic Union visualizes itself as a continution of the pluralism of the Liberation Front [of World War II]. The former seek legitimation in theory, and the latter in practice.

The Slovene Democrats agree to work in the SAWP, although they want to be autonomous. The Zagreb Association does not wish to have anything to do with this party appendage, as Professor Predrag Matejevic called the SAWP.

At the founding meeting of the Union, the LC of Slovenia was accused of having no national program. The members of the Zagreb Association said that the LC of Croatia has no program, but that this is not so bad because this will make it display tolerance sooner toward the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative.

Dimitrij Rupel, in a passage (?of his) opening speech, mentions national reconciliation through the erection of a monument to the victims of fascist and Stalinist terror. The Zagreb Association would not go into this most sensitive point of the Yugoslav historical memory.

In short, the Slovenes on the one side (?play on) democracy, and on the other hand the mediating role of the Zagreb group for Yugoslavia may not be administered in the proper quantity or understood properly. Anything may be utilized, used, or misused. The peoples of Yugoslavia know this from their own experience and from the experience of others.

DELO Calls for 'Government of Experts'

AU1301181189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jan 89 p 11

[Unattributed commentary reprinted from Ljubljana DELO: "The South Overthrew the Government"; date not given]

[Text] It is purely accidental that we are entering the new year without a government, but now that the time has come for a deep-rooted reconstruction of the government, some things should be said clearly so that a tragic mistake is not made, according to which people would live for a long time only adhering to the word of administrative decrees. This is a question of radical economic reform which everyone in their own way believes in, and which everyone supports, although we often see different things in it. It is no secret at all that the South of the state sees the economic revival in Yugoslavia in a different way than the North.

Many people secretly wish for reform be achieved in an administrative and political way. Therefore, it is very important at this moment to decisively say that we see economic reform as a matter that belongs to the economy and that this is more or less the only criterion according to which responsibility would be taken to form a new government and program.

However, things are far more complicated, because it is no longer a secret that the vast majority of people in Yugoslavia are against this sort of reform and see it primarily as a process of "the gradual adaptation" of the economic situation to the new economic demands and a process in which the essence of reform will be very quickly diminished.

The FEC, which in the last 2 years has made some catastrophic mistakes, did not resign under pressure from those who were not satisfied with the reform's orientation, but this FEC departed when it no longer had the support of those who, in the government's latest measures, sensed a danger to their positions in administration. Or, put another way, Mikulic's government was brought down by the South, that South which exists to a certain extent in the North and which has in the last few months openly flirted with centralist and unitarist tendencies, openly announcing that at this moment they need accumulation more than they need the market—and if need be, accumulation even from the North.

In setting up the new government, the distribution of political power in the state will be of decisive importance; therefore the well-known criterion will be put into practice: political ability before specialist qualifications. We must at least acquire an FEC that will be a government of experts. It is important that the mandate be put into the hands of those who understand that this is really the last opportunity for economic reform. It should also be said that a so-called "strong government"—that is, a government of influential political personalities, which

is already being discussed—is out of the question, because a "strong government" would again mean some kind of reform from above which has never been of any use to anyone.

Since the times are such that no one knows what the new composition of the government and its program will bring, it should be known what would be done if the reform concept totally fails. In this case, we would most probably have to fall back on the so-called plan B, that is, "the emergency exit," which could prove itself to be a real alternative.

Belgrade Radio Comments on Bush Inauguration

AU2101175589 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Slavoljub Susic commentary]

[Text] When exactly 200 years ago, on 20 January 1789, George Washington was elected the first U.S. president, many pioneering undertakings were waiting for him: to set up the new North American republic constitutionally, to strengthen its national army, to build its economy, and other business. The 41st President of this great economic and military power, George Bush, is assuming power by inheriting the undisputably rich legacy of Ronald Reagan, his popular predecessor, who was liked by his fellow citizens. This legacy was built through his two presidential terms in the economic, political, and especially military fields.

Pedantic chroniclers have recorded that during his first term, President Reagan rapidly increased the military budget and was an advocate of revitalizing the strategy of low-intensity operations, practically tested in the invasion of Grenada and the air attack on Libya. He will be remembered as a founder of one of the most ambitious military projects, known as the Strategic Defense Initiative, or Star Wars.

Under President Reagan's orders, research into chemical weapons and their production was resumed after a break of 14 years, nuclear weapons were improved, and research was carried out in the field of increasing the efficiency of conventional weapons. The U.S. President also influenced the West European allies, which increased their share in military expenditure to strengthen the NATO forces.

In the first years of his presidency, Ronald Reagan manifested an emphasized ideological exclusiveness in his relations with the USSR, the leading power of the Warsaw Pact. Defending Western democracy from the alleged communist danger, he even called the USSR the evil empire. However, gradually he became more realistic in his approach toward the land of the Soviets, even learning some Russian proverbs.

In the last 3 years of his second term, the U.S. president officially met Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev four times. In frank and not always easy talks, the road to solving many disputed questions was forged step by step. The two statesmen deserve credit for reaching an agreement on mutual destruction of intermediate and operational-tactical missiles, thereby taking the first practical step in the field of nuclear disarmament after more than 3 and ½ decades of contest in this area.

Many subjects that have been broached in the dialogue with Moscow, however, remain for President Bush. This includes, among other things, a 50-percent reduction in offensive strategic weapons; a ban on or limitation on underground nuclear tests; and negotiations on a ban and destruction of chemical weapons, on the reduction of conventional forces and armaments in central Europe and beyond, and finally, on zones of peace and security devoid of nuclear weapons.

A significant initial item that President Reagan leaves to his successor is agreement with the Soviet leader that one should never start a nuclear war, because there will be no winners. Nevertheless, on the basis of experience from earlier times, the question arises: Now, at the threshold of the 21st century, is the world entering a new epoch of peace, or is this just a stage of better relations between the two superpowers? The answer will depend to a great extent on the political program and specific action by George Bush, the 41st U.S. president, in the years to come.

Albania 'Ready' for Cooperation With SFRY

LD1901230489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2101 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, Jan 19 (TANJUG)—Albania is ready to develop a comprehensive economic, cultural and political cooperation with Yugoslavia, said Albanian Deputy Prime Minister Manush Myftiu in the talks with Yugoslav Deputy Foreign Secretary Milivoje Maksic and Yugoslav Ambassador in Tirana Novak Pribicevic here this evening.

The talks included an exchange of views on some topical questions of Yugoslav-Albanian relations, including those concerning ethnic Albanians living in Yugoslvia and Macedonian, Serbian and Montengrin minorities in Albania, which should be a factor of confidence strengthening and rapprochement between the two neighbouring countries.

Myftiu, Maksic and Pribicevic also discussed the role of Yugoslavia and Albania as non-bloc countries in the strengthening of such Balkan cooperation which would promote the substantial national interests of all Balkan countries.

Myftiu conveyed the Albanian leadership's best wishes for an overall progress of Yugoslavia, the stability and progress of which Albania views as support to its own independence and development, the Albanian deputy prime minister stressed.

Venezuelan President-Elect Pays Visit

Arrives 15 Jan

LD1501170889 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1555 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 15 (TANJUG)—Venezuelan president-elect Carlos Andres Perez arrived this afternoon in a brief friendly visit to Yugoslavia.

On arrival in Belgrade, the Venezuelan president-elect laid flowers at the grave of President Tito.

President of (?the Yugoslav) State Presidency Raif Dizdarevic and Carlos Andres Perez will meet this evening to exchange views on relations between Yugoslavia and Venezuela and on international questions of the two countries' concern.

Discusses Debt With Dizdarevic

LD1501224489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2115 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Jan (TANJUG)—How and in what areas Yugoslavia and Venezuela will promote economic and other relations was the central issue of the talks in Belgrade tonight between the president of the SFRY Presidency and Venezuelan President-elect Carlos Andres Perez.

Dizdarevic and Perez, who on 2 February will formally assume the office of president, stressed that the interests of the two countries coincide: Both wish the traditionally friendly relations to continue and grow even stronger, especially in the area of economic cooperation. The exchange of views, which went on for almost 2 and ½ hours, showed that realistic opportunities stand behind the wishes. As far as Yugoslavia is concerned, these wishes stem from the deep-seated changes made in the economy so that the needs of the country will coincide with supplies and with the requirements of the world market. The Venezuelan business quarters, on the other hand, are working on a substantial and comprehensive expansion of economic ties with the world. The result is—and this is the conclusion Dizdarevic and Perez arrived at as well—that Yugoslavia and Venezuela are really trying to take advantage of the complementary nature of their respective economies, in a specific way and by relying on long-term and stable aspects of cooperation. Support was therefore given to current negotiations on solidifying significant business arrangements on shipbuilding in Yugoslavia for Venezuela, to give just an example.

Attention was drawn to the fact that both sides see Perez' stay in Belgrade as important proof of the desire to constantly enhance the excellent political relations and political dialogue at the top level. An undoubted contribution to this was provided by last year's visit to Yugoslavia by Venezuelan President Jaime Lusinchi.

The problem of international debts and the impending activity of the Nonaligned Movement were also areas to which great attention was paid.

Perez and Dizdarevic share the same view: Debtor-countries should be more organized in their negotiations with creditors and should continue to point out in a well-reasoned and argued manner that the development of the undeveloped and debtor countries is not just their right, but is in the interest of the developed part of the world, as well. It would be of no use to insist on confrontation in the North-South dialogue. On the contrary, the dialogue must be constructive so that a mutually acceptable outcome will be achieved.

There was evidence of Venezuela's considerable interest in the Nonaligned Movement, in its actions, and in the preparations for its ninth summit in Belgrade. Perez emphasized that Venezuela attaches special importance to the dynamism of the movement, in which for the time being, it has the status of an observer. Perez sees the coming gathering in Belgrade as a good opportunity for the Nonaligned Movement to display, in light of the positive worldwide trends in international relations, its quality, and show that it is worthy of its role as one of the key factors in world events.

Raif Dizdarevic, president of the Yugoslav Presidency, spoke in greater detail about the way the movement is preparing for its ninth meeting, about its priorities, and about what should be done to update the methods of its activity.

Departs Belgrade

LD1601114589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1043 GMT 16 Jan 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, January 16 (TANJUG)—Venezuela's president-elect, Carlos Andres Perez, wound up his friendly visit to Yugoslavia today and left Belgrade.

Before setting out for Belgrade airport, Perez and Raif Dizdarevic, president of Yugoslavia's Presidency, summed up their agreements on future cooperation between their two countries, particularly so in economics and at the world scene, reached during his stay in Belgrade.

The president-elect, who is due to take over his duties in three weeks, also met with representatives of Yugoslav economic enterprises. Discussed was a program for possible cooperation between the said firms and their Venezuelan partners, i.e. their deliveries of Yugoslav-made ships and barter deals for Venezuela to repay them.

Among other things, also discussed was cooperation between the two countries' oil companies and Venezuela was offered to have its heavy oil refined in Yugoslavia for prospective buyers in Europe and the Mediterranean countries.

Presidency Makes Statement

LD2001231589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1932 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 20 (TANJUG)—The recent visit to Yugoslavia by Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez confirmed the interest and readiness of the two countries' to promote relations, especially in the economic field, says a statement issued by the Yugoslav Presidency today.

The substantive exchange of views on international topics, especially the developing countries' problems, showed a closeness the two countries' views [as received], says the statement.

It also adds that President Perez expressed special interest in the activity of the movement of nonalignment and the preparations (?for) the movement's ninth summit to be held in Belgrade this autumn.